

MEMOIRS,

Illustrating the

HISTORY of JACOBINISM,

Written in FRENCH by

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And translated into ENGLISH by

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Princes and Nations shall disappear from the face of the Earth . . . and this
REVOLUTION shall be the WORK OF SECRET SOCIETIES.

Weisshaupt's Discourse for the Mysteries.

PART IV.

ANTISOCIAL CONSPIRACY; HISTORICAL PART.

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THE ANTISOCIAL CONSPIRACY HISTORICAL PART

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE

Object and Plan of this Volume.

CONCEIVED but a short time before the French Revolution, by a man whose ambition seemed confined within the narrow compass of the town of Ingolstadt and to the dusty folios of his schools, by what strange means did Illuminism, in less than fifteen years, become that formidable Sect which, under the name of *Jacobin*, rides triumphant over ruined altars, shivered scepters, and scattered crowns; over the wrecks of nations and their constitutions; over the bodies of potentates fallen beneath their poisons or their poignards, while they drag others in their train, craving a servitude termed *peace*, or branding themselves with the infamy of what they call an *alliance*?

Under this name of JACOBIN absorbing all the mysteries, plots, and combinations of every sectary against every religion, government, and society, by what artifice could Illuminism acquire that dominion of terror which forbids any sovereign within the astonished universe to say, Tomorrow I shall continue seated on my throne; which forbids nations and citizens to say, that their laws and religion, their houses and property, will not be torn from them; which forbids the peaceful inhabitant to lie down to rest with any assurance that he will not rise in the morning beneath the shade of that symbol of blood called the *Tree of Liberty*, and threatened by the axe of the devouring guillotine? How is it possible, that the secret adepts of the modern *Spartacus* should be the invisible and exclusive movers of that long chain of crimes and calamities, that disastrous torrent of ferocity and rapine, which is called the revolution? How do they continue to direct those machinations which are to consummate the dissolution and misery of human society?

In dedicating this Fourth Volume to the investigation of these questions, I do not flatter myself with the hopes of illustrating them with all that precision and of pointing out those particularities which other men might have done who have had it in their power to follow the Sect of Illuminees into their dark abodes without ever losing sight of the adepts or their teachers. The monster has taken its course through wildernesses, and darkness has more than once

obscured its progress. Weishaupt had adopted the bird of night for his emblem, because he courted darkness; but the screechings of this ominous bird, rending the air in spite of him, discover his secret retreat. The venomous reptile is often discovered by the stench of its poison; the beaten and blood-stained track leads to the discovery of the cavern inhabited by brigands; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the wicked, an all-powerful God will sometimes in his mercy permit a ray of light to shine on their tenebrous recesses, which may suffice to develop their pots. Many horrid particulars, no doubt, have been lost under the veil of darkness; but in classing those which have come to my knowledge, I find abundance of proofs to trace the Sect wherever crime has pointed out its fatal influence. In vain does the black cloud hover round the summit of the volcano, the bituminous and sulphureous vapours which it exhales, bear testimony of the interior combustions, till at length the eruption denotes the abyss where so great a convulsion was generated.

Hence without flattering myself with the hopes of seizing every link of that horrid chain of iniquity which must blacken the page of history when treating of the Sect, or of decyphering the assumed names of all its adepts, I shall proceed to lay before my readers what has already come to light. Asserting nothing but what will bear the strictest scrutiny, I shall still find matter sufficient to trace the progress of the Sect from its origin to that congress to which, at the present moment, it calls the vanquished sovereigns, not so much to quell the horrors of the field of battle, as to enjoy that dominion of terror which it despotically sways without, and to prepare within new resources to extend its triumphs; not so much to restore to nations the tottering remnants of their laws and religion, as to invent means of obliterating the very traces of either that may yet remain. I shall here attempt to lead the historian through these mazy windings lest he should lose himself when in pursuit of the Sect. The reader has already seen (in our remarks on the Code) its oaths and threats against every religion, all society, and property. Now, when reading of what the Sect has done, of the plots and machinations it has successfully undertaken and executed, may nations and their rulers acquire new ardour, and be stimulated to oppose their future projects with all the courage and all the means they are masters of. It is to triumph over Jacobinism, cost what it may, that nations are to study the records of this Sect, and not to sink meanly into despair. I know I am but mortal, and that ere long I shall descend into the grave; and I calmly wait my dissolution; but should that consideration prevent my weeping over the general dissolution which threatens society, after I have awakened my readers to the dangers which threaten them, only to see them sinking once more into that apathy which portends ruin, under pretence that it is too late, that it is useless to resist the fate which the Sect has decreed for all nations? God forbid that I should hold such language! Cannot the good be fired with that zeal which consumes the breast of the miscreant heaving for wickedness. Let the rules of nations *will it*, let nations *will* to save their religion, their laws, their property, as this infernal Sect *wills* the destruction of them all, and success must infallibly crown their endeavours. It is only in hopes of contributing to their success, that I once more consent to sully my pen with

the names of *Weishaupt*, of *Iluminee*, and of *Jacobin*, and to wade through their disgusting annals.

The order to be observed in treating of the history of the Sect shall be regulated according to its most remarkable epochs.

The first shall shew *Weishaupt* laying the foundations of his Illuminism, preparing and initiating his first adepts, founding his first Lodges, trying his first apostles, and preparing every thing for great conquests.

The second shall treat of that fatal intrusion which embodied thousands and thousands of adepts under *Weishaupt's* banners; and this epoch will be called the *Illuminization of Free-masonry*.

Very few years suffice to extend these tenebrous and mysterious conquests; but the thunderbolts of heaven warn mankind of their danger. The Sect and its conspiracies are discovered in Bavaria, and it speaks of this discovery under the appellation of *its persecutions*; nations and their rulers have been led to believe that it was the death-blow and extinction of the Sect.

Shrinking back, however, into its dark recesses, with unabating ardor, it crawls from den to den until it attains those of Philip of Orleans, who, joining the Sect with all the adepts of his occult Lodges, gives it sovereign sway over the whole of French Masonry. From this monstrous association sprung the JACOBINS, with all the crimes and horrors of the Revolution. This constitutes the fourth epoch of Illuminism; for as the lion, feeling his strength sufficient, sallies from his den, roars loudly, and victims must be sacrificed to him; so the Jacobins, or Illuminized Masons, quit their lurking places, and with horrid yell announce to nations and their rulers that they may tremble, for the day of revolution is come. This is the epoch at which the Sect begins the execution of its plots. He only knows how low the earth is condemned to bend beneath their yoke, who in his vengeance permits the plague and other scourges to devastate empires until he has been avenged of an impious generation. I neither pretend to be a prophet nor descendant of a prophet; but in treating of the numerous crimes already committed by the Sect, it will be but too easy to point out those that it has still to commit, and that it will commit, if princes and their people disregard the lessons of that same God, teaching them the conduct they should hold, in order to avert the impending scourge.

CHAP. I.

First Epoch of Illuminism.

FOR many years past, and particularly since Free-masonry had acquired such repute throughout Europe, a multitude of petty secret societies had been formed in the Protestant universities of Germany, each having its lodge, its master, its mysteries, all modelled on those founded by masons coming from England and Scotland. Hence sprung those various *Orders of Hope, of Harmony, the Constantists, the black Brethren*, and the like. The disputes and quarrels, nay, the disorderly behaviour of these young brethren attracted more than once the attention of the magistrates; some few attempts were made to crush these meetings, but being made without energy they were of course useless. Governments had not sufficiently considered, that the most dangerous abuse of these societies was not so much the quarrels and the boyish battles which ensued, as the taste which they inculcated for societies impervious to the eye of the magistrate, and under the cover of which their secrets were so easily transformed into the mysteries of impiety and the plots of rebellion.¹

It would, however, be difficult I believe to prove, that any systems or opinions militating against religion or governments had as yet been introduced into these puerile associations. Many were even known to profess principles conducive to good manners and morality. The remedy may be found in the very source whence sprung the evil, that is to say, from the constitution of those universities, which on the one side leaves the choice of the different professors in each branch to their scholars, and on the other does not sufficiently provide for an honest teacher to place him beyond the powers of want or the temptations of avarice and vanity. Hence it followed, that masters, little delicate as to the means of obtaining a nomination, and nearly destitute of talents, had only to show great zeal for one of these little societies, or invent some new mystery more enticing than the rest, and his Lodges immediately filled; the scholars formed parties for him; in a short time his schools were as much flocked to as his Lodges, and contributions in his favour kept pace with his growing reputation. The fear of passing for a seducer of youth was a bar against his making use of these societies for instilling bad principles into his young followers, however much he might have wished it; and on the other side, the authority which he had acquired in the schools gave him a sufficient power in the Lodges to thwart any perverse intentions of the young adepts;

and these opposite reasons proved in general a sufficient guard against the introduction of great abuses.²

The time was not yet come, however, when proofs were to be acquired of the use to which the great conspirators were to turn these mysterious nurseries.

When public report spread the news in Germany, of a new order of Illuminees having been founded in the university of Ingolstadt by Weishaupt, many people supposed it to be one of those little college Lodges, which could no longer interest the adepts, when once they had finished their studies. Many even thought that Weishaupt, who was at that time a sworn enemy to the Jesuits, had only founded this Lodge with a view to form a party for himself against those fathers who after the destruction of their order had been continued in their offices of public teachers at the university of Ingolstadt.³ The Illuminees successfully availed themselves of this opinion on an occasion which we shall hereafter see to have been decisive as to their future existence in Germany. Had not the nature of their code and of their mysteries demonstrated views of far other importance both for nations and their governments to have been the grand object of the founder, the Archives of the Sect would show beyond all doubt that from its first institution Weishaupt had conceived the hopes, and determined on means for extending the plots of the Sect to the utmost boundaries of Empires.

It was on the 1st of May, 1776, that Weishaupt laid the first foundations of his Illuminism. The list of adepts seized among their archives shows his name inscribed on that day at the head of the Register; on the same day *Ajax-Massenhausen* and *Tiberius-Merz* were declared Areopagites.⁴ It is true that he selected these two first adepts from among his pupils who were studying the law under him at the university of Ingolstadt; these were generally young men from eighteen to twenty, a most dangerous age, when the passions easily lay open the unguarded mind to the seduction of Sophistry. Weishaupt could not overlook so fair an opportunity for forming apostles, who returning home when they had finished their studies might, under his direction, continue the same career of seduction which he himself carried on at Ingolstadt. Atrociously impious, we see him in the first year of his Illuminism aping the God of Christianity, and ordering *Ajax-Massenhausen* in the following terms to propagate the doctrines of his new gospel: "Did not Christ send his Apostles to preach his Gospel to the universe? You that are my Peter, why should you remain idle at home, go then and preach."⁵

The modern Cephass had not waited for the orders of his master to give him proofs of his zeal. In the enthusiasm of his first fervor, and during the very month of his installation, he had acted the part of Insinuator to Xaverius Zwack.⁶ We shall soon see him outwitted by his pupil; but so great a conquest covered a multitude of sins of which he was afterwards guilty. By the name of *Cato* we see Zwack pass under the direction of Weishaupt himself, and he soon became his favorite disciple. He may be said to have robbed his Insinuator of the honor of having founded the Lodges of Munich; and it was

through the means of this new apostle that the Sect made this rapid progress which Weishaupt boasts of in his letter to *Tiberius-Merz*, 13 May, 1778:

"It is with great pleasure that I can inform you of the happy progress my Order is making: knowing how anxious you are for its welfare, and that you have promised to contribute to its success by all the means in your power, I must inform you, that in a few days I shall be able to found two Lodges at Munich. The first will be composed of *Cato*, of Hertel, to whom I have given the name of *Marius*, and of Massenhausen, whom we call *Ajax*. These three will receive their instructions in a direct line from me. You also shall have a seat in their council when at Munich. I have been obliged to fix *Ajax* there, though he might have been of great use to me; for he was the first to whom I opened myself on the subject, and he also recruited *Cato* for me. Had I to begin again, I certainly would not make choice of him; but I have so clipped his wings that he can no longer play off any of his intrigues. I don't leave him in possession of a single half-penny of our funds; they are entrusted to *Marius*. *Cato* is the main spring at Munich, and the man who conducts every thing. It is for that reason that you must in future correspond with him. It is in this Lodge that all is regulated with regard to the general direction of the Order; but then every thing is to be submitted to me for approbation.

"The second college (or Lodge) shall consist of the above-named brethren, of Berger, under the name of *Cornelius Scipio*, and of a certain Troponero, whom we have surnamed *Coriolanus*, a most excellent man for us, about forty years of age, and who has been for a long time concerned in the Hamburg trade, he is an able financier, and at this very time reads public lectures on finance at Munich.

"To these will soon be added Baader and Werstenrieder, both professors in the same town. This Lodge is to attend to all local concerns, that is, to all that may be of service or disservice to us at Munich. *Claudius*, one of *Cato's* cousins, and the young Sauer, an apprentice to a merchant, are in the Noviciate. Beieramer, surnamed *Zoroaster*, who was initiated a few days ago, is going to try his luck at Landshut, whither we send him to see how it will be received there. Michel, under the name of *Timon*, and Hohenacher set off to the attack of Freisinguen.

"You are but little acquainted with the people of Aichstadt. It is enough to say that (counsellor) Lang, surnamed *Tamerlane*, is Director there. His zeal has already gained over to us *Odin*, *Tasso*, *Osiris*, *Lucullus*, *Sesostris*, and *Moses*. *This is going on pretty well, I think*. I forgot to say, that we have our printer at Munich. We are now making a new edition, and at our own expense, of *Alphonsus de Vargas* on the *stratagems* and the *sophisms* of the Jesuits.⁷ You shall soon receive a copy of it. If you will send your contribution in money to *Cato*, as you promised, I shall be obliged to you. He will send you a receipt for it.

"If, through your zeal and by your means we could obtain a footing in Suabia, it would be a great step gained for us. Let me then beseech you to set to work. In five years you will be astonished to see what a progress we shall

have made. Cato is really incomparable. *The greatest difficulties are over.* You will now see us advancing with gigantic strides. Do set to work then. *It would be vain for you to expect a better occasion for acquiring power.* You are endowed with all the necessary talents for such an undertaking; and to neglect building in the Elysian fields when the occasion offers is to be doubly criminal. There are a vast number at Aichstadt; and could not your natal soil rival an Aichstadt. With respect to myself, the services I can render here can be but of little avail. Answer me soon; make an extract of this letter as usual, and then send it back to me, &c."

The grand object of such intimations on the progress of Illuminism was not so much to satisfy the curiosity of the adept, as to stimulate his zeal by the example of *Cato* and *Tamerlane*, those active recruiters for the Sect, the former at Munich, the latter at Aichstadt. Though he owned that *Tiberius* had not been altogether unserviceable to him, nevertheless Weishaupt did not think he had made a sufficient return for the honor conferred on him in being nominated at once second Areopagite and second Apostle of the Order; it was with much concern (to use Weishaupt's expression) that he saw this apostle had neither *son nor nephew* in the Order, that is to say, that he had not founded a Lodge nor recruited a single novice.⁸ Wholly absorbed in his pleasures, Weishaupt had hitherto made but fruitless attempts to stimulate his zeal, nor had he succeeded better through Cato's means; but this news had the desired effect. These intimations on the progress of Illuminism finished by requesting *Tiberius* to seek out a proper person to be sent to found new colonies in Suabia. This fired the sluggish apostle with emulation; *Tiberius* undertook the task himself, and in a short time we find him represented in the annals of the Sect as at the head of a new colony at Ravensburg in Suabia, and as fulfilling perfectly the functions of his apostleship.⁹

But this zeal of *Tiberius*, as well as that of *Ajax*, was but of an intermittent nature. The latter had robbed the funds of the Order; and Weishaupt, speaking of himself, complains that *he had done him more mischief both in men and money than three years could recruit again.*¹⁰ As to *Tiberius*, he had so thoroughly imbibed the iniquitous doctrines which he was to infuse into the young adepts, and the scandalous publicity of his character militated so much against that hypocrisy which Weishaupt judged necessary for the propagation of his Illuminism, that we shall see him hereafter expelled from the Order. Notwithstanding the seeming impropriety of such a choice for the two senior apostles, it was to them nevertheless that the Sect was indebted for the two colonies of Munich *Athens*, and of Ravensburgh *Sparta*. As to Aichstadt *Erzerum*, Weishaupt himself was the founder. He profited of the first vacation he had from the schools to make an excursion to that town, and there employed all that time which the generality of professors dedicate to the recruiting of their health after the labours of the past year, in the propagation of his doctrines. An assiduous scrutator, he sought among all ranks of citizens and of all ages those whom he could hope to captivate. The first person on whom he cast his eyes, was one of the principal magistrates, of the name of

Lang. But a few days sufficed for this conquest, and this is the *Tamerlane* whose successes are so much extolled in the above-mentioned letter to *Tiberius*. He next began to exercise his talents as Insinuator with all the artifice and according to the laws laid down in the code, on men who bearing a certain character, and habitually residing among their fellow-citizens, could the more effectually influence the public opinion. He made an attempt to seduce the Chapter of that town, for it was from thence that he writes, "I even think that I shall be able to recruit two others, and what is more two *Canons*. Can I but execute my designs on the Chapter, then we shall have made a great step."¹¹

It does not appear that he succeeded with his two *Canons*; but we see him on the other hand making numerous conquests. He begins by a certain *Schleich*, with whom he is much delighted, and who on this first admission presented the Order with whatever books Weishaupt chose to select from his library. Then comes a man surnamed *Lucullus*, who, while only in his novitiate, begins by Weishaupt's express command to act the part of Insinuator to the Baron Eckert, who was supposed to be a *great prize*. In short, there was a number of young men whom Weishaupt persuaded to come and finish their educations at his university, that he might be able to complete their initiation. Such was the success he met with during the few months he remained at Aichstadt; and he was so overjoyed with it that he writes to *Ajax-Massenhausen*, "I have most certainly done more during this vacation than all of you have done together."¹² Though obliged to return to his public functions of teacher at the university of Ingolstadt, he left this new Lodge in possession of such a fund of illuminized instruction, that Aichstadt was soon looked up to as the model of Lodges; and the predilection which Weishaupt ever after retained for it is observable. He often proposes it as an example to those adepts who became lukewarm in the service of the Sect. It was also the Lodge which he had the most grossly imposed upon as to the origin of the Sect, and which he most ridicules in his confidential letters to *Cato-Zwack*, when he says, "The greatest of our mysteries must be the novelty of the Order. The fewer persons there are in the secret, the better we shall thrive; at present, you and Merz are the only two that know the secret, nor do I mean to tell it to any one else for a long time to come. *As to our fellows at Aichstadt, there is not one of them that knows it, nor is there one who would not swear on his life and death that the Order is older than Methusalem.*"¹³

On his return to Ingolstadt, Weishaupt applied himself to the means of combining his functions of Doctor of Laws with those of Founder of a Secret Society, whose future purpose was the total subversion of every law. He fulfilled the former part of his duty with such assiduity, and with such an appearance of candor, that he was chosen Superior of the university. This new dignity only added to his hypocrisy. The same year, so far was he from losing sight of his tenebrous plots, that he formed a secret school, wherein he amply counter-balanced the lessons he was obliged to give in public; and by means of this new species of scholars he stored up an abundant means for the propagation of his Illuminism. At once Superior and Professor of the

university, he made use of this double title to inspire the parents of his scholars with new confidence. He converted his house into one of those boarding-houses where young men, perpetually under the eyes of their masters, are supposed to be better preserved from the dangers which threaten them at that age. Several letters demonstrate the intention of this monstrous pedagogue to offer his house and table to the young students of the university as a means of attaining his baleful ends. He solicited fathers and mothers to entrust their children to his care; and, over-joyed at having obtained so precious a deposit, he exultingly writes to his adepts, "that the young Baron of Schroeckenberg, and the young Hoheneicher, are to be boarded with him." He then adds, "*And these gentlemen also must swallow the bait that is thrown to them.*" When he had observed the great facility that this secret school gave him of seducing his disciples, he writes, "Next year also I will take boarders at my house, *always with a view to forward the grand object.*"¹⁴ Should it come to pass that he could not persuade the parents to intrust any of his young auditors to his care, especially when he had cast his views on them, he then had houses near him and in his interest, to which he would entice the young pupils, lest he should lose sight of them. It is on a similar occasion that he writes to *Ajax*, "I see no other lodging for you in our neighbourhood but at my mother's. I should be excessively happy if that would do for you; and more particularly so, as she would make no difficulty in allowing you the key of the house-door. I do not wish to force you to go there if you can find a better; but *the great advantage of this would be, that I should always have a pretence for going to your chamber; and there we could more easily than at my house discourse together without any one's knowing a word of the matter. Our union would be more secret.*"¹⁵

Let not the reader be surprized at seeing me descend to all these particulars. I am describing the infant state of the Sect, and the founder forming his first disciple. Such means might be despised by some; but this was not the case with our prototype of rebellion; he scarcely appears to venture beyond the porch of his own habitation. Let the wolf alone; in the thickets of the forest she suckles her young; they grow in strength, and we soon behold them carrying the palpitating remnants of flocks to gorge the ravenous maw of her who taught them to devour. Scarcely had Weishaupt dedicated his secret school for the space of two years to his Illuminism, when his adepts, worthy of such disastrous plans, sallied forth to spread the baneful poisons. Let the reader judge of the importance of his means by the successes attending on them; let him reflect on them while Weishaupt shall be his own historian in the following letter:

"In future," says he to his two famous Areopagites *Cato* and *Marius*, "you will assume a different tone with *Timon* and Hoheneicher, as I have let them into the whole secret; I have even disclosed myself to them as founder of our Order; and I have done it for many reasons.

"First, Because *they are to be themselves founders of a new colony at Freysinguen, their native country*, and on that account stand in need of more particular instructions as to the whole tendency of the Order, which were much too

long to have been given by letter. I profit of every instant while they remain with me, to prepare them for every thing.

"Secondly, Because they must in the mean time insinuate the Baron D'E...and some other students.

"Thirdly, Because H— —" (this H— — is evidently the above-mentioned Hoheneicher, the very person of whom Weishaupt says, when enticing him to board with him, *He shall swallow the bait*) "is too well acquainted with my style of writing and of thinking, not to have soon found out that the whole was of my own invention.

"Fourthly, *Because of all my boarders of last year he was the ONLY ONE who had not been made acquainted with the whole business.*

"Fifthly, Because he has offered to contribute to our secret library at Munich, *and will furnish us with several important articles belonging to the chapter of Freysinguen.*

"And, Lastly, Because after three months more instruction, which I have to give them, they will both be enabled to render us the most important services."¹⁶

From this letter we may evidently infer, first, that of all the young men who boarded with Weishaupt during the first year of his conspiracy not a single one escaped his dark designs: Secondly, that they were not only initiated in the mysteries, but even in the most profound mysteries, that, for instance, in which he reveals himself to be the founder of Illuminism, which is pointed out in the Code as the last secret, and only to be imparted to the most consummate adepts.¹⁷ Thirdly, that before he had initiated his boarders into all his secrets, he used them as tools for the seduction of other students of the university, whom he had not been able to entice to his table.—Fourthly, that at the very period when Weishaupt restores his pupils to their parents, their seduction is complete; and that when these young men quit the university, as having accomplished the study of the laws of their country, they depart for their natal soil imbued with the principles and initiated in all the means by which they are to overturn those very laws which they are supposed to have been studying, and annihilate all religion, society, and property.—Fifthly, the reader is not to forget the *important articles* which the young Hoheneicher promises to steal from the library of the Chapter of Freysinguen, and with which he is to enrich the secret library of the Sect. Such an action could only be a consequence of Weishaupt's grand principle of morality, that *a useful theft could not be criminal*, or that those same means which the wicked employ for an evil end are justifiable when employed for the attainment of a good end. It is the same principle which begins by plundering the libraries of the clergy, as the first step towards the plundering of their estates; which soon, under the pretence of general utility and necessity for the support of the premeditated revolution, will invade the property of the Nobles and of the Rich, of the Merchant, the Husbandman, and the Mechanic, pillaging all, and blasting the most distant hope they may have conceived of preserving the smallest remnant of their shattered fortune from the general wreck. When the historian shall

come to treat of these great revolutionary spoliations, reverting to the prime source, he will find himself in the midst of a Sect calling itself Illuminees, a school of methodized robbers thieving by principle, whence Weishaupt sends his apostles of depredation, and brigand adepts. Soon we shall behold them boasting of other spoliations. The lessons of the secret cavern shall spread around, and the adept, annihilating all property as well as blaspheming all government and all religion, shall do homage to their master presiding over his secret school.

The two new adepts, formed with so much care to the arts of seduction, at length received their mission, and the town of Freysinguen, under the appellation of *Thebes*, becomes the fourth colony. About the same time the adepts of the two Lodges at Munich showed so much zeal for the propagation of the mysteries, that Weishaupt, after having calculated on their and his own success, did not hesitate at writing to them, "If you do but continue with the same zeal, we shall in a little time be masters of our whole country;"¹⁸ that is to say, of all Bavaria.

Wenn sie so fortfahren, wie seit einiger zeit so gehört in kurzer zeit unser vaterland uns.

The reader must not, however, think that his views were circumscribed to this Electorate; he soon writes to his Areopagites, desiring them to make choice, from among the foreigners who were then at Munich, of persons who might be instructed, initiated, and sent to found new colonies at *Augsbourg, Ratisbon, Saltzbouurg, Landshut, and in different parts of Franconia*.¹⁹ At the time he wrote these instructions he had already sent his missionaries to the *Tyrol* and into *Italy*.²⁰ The part, or rather the multiplicity of parts, which he acted at Ingolstadt to ensure the success of his undertaking are as inconceivable as they were real. He gives us a small sketch of his activity when he writes to Cato, proposing himself as a model: "Do as I do, avoid large companies. But do not think of remaining idle if you wish to acquire any influence in this world. Wait a while; the hour is coming, and it will come soon, when you will have a great deal to do. Remember Sejanus, who so well assumed the character of an idle man, and who transacted so much business without appearing to transact any; *erat autem Sejanus otioso simillimus, nihil agendo multa agens*;"²¹ never had a conspirator better laid down the precept or given the example than Weishaupt.

Apparently tranquil at Ingolstadt, Weishaupt had a far better cloak for his conspiracies than Sejanus's idleness. A seeming assiduity in his duty, a great show of zeal and erudition in his expounding of the laws, easily misled people to believe that his whole time and talents were engrossed with the study of them; and, if we are to credit his own account, Ingolstadt had never witnessed a professor so well calculated to add new lustre to its university. The public functions of professor of the laws, and the secret arts or seducer in private, had not made him forget that he was also the founder of Illuminism, and that in this latter quality he had to form a code of laws, which were at once to annihilate every other law, all religion, and all property. At the time when he

initiated his first adepts, he was far from having perfected that code of iniquity; and perhaps in the strict sense of the word Weishaupt had deviated from the common rules of prudence, in giving way to such ardour for the propagation of the Order, sending his apostles and initiating his disciples before he had completed the code of laws which was to regulate their conduct. But such an impetuosity cannot be considered in this prototype of rebellion as a want of foresight, or as an excess of confidence. He knew that years and experience were necessary to perfect that gradual system of initiations and of trials which his Novices were to undergo; and artfully to prepare those impious and sophisticated discourses to be pronounced by his Hierophants; in a word, to complete that concatenation of artifice which was to regulate the conduct of his Regents, Directors, and Areopagites. He could not endure the idea of sacrificing so many years to mere theoretic projects. He would, in his first essays, make conquests that were to ensure him still greater ones on a future day, which he had already calculated. He knew his own talents too well to entertain the least doubt of success; he foresaw how far he could perfect those systems which he had as yet only conceived, and he wished to have ready at hand a numerous clan of disciples disposed to receive his new gospel, and apostles who should need only to be initiated in his last mysteries, when his code, completed, was to be sent to the tenebrous recesses of his different colonies.

Such were his views, and such the confidence he had in the transcendency of his own genius for wickedness, when he wrote at different times to his first adepts, "Do not trouble yourself about future degrees. The day will come when you shall view with astonishment what I have done on that score. In the mean time, *be it your care to enlist men for me, prepare knights for me, instruct them, dispose them, amuse them, and leave the rest to me.*—The whole of your business consists in adding to the numbers. Allow yourselves to be directed, and obey for a year or two longer, *and give me time to lay my foundations, for that is the essential point; and nobody understands that part better than I do.* If these foundations are once laid, you may then do what you please; *and though you were to try I would defy you to overthrow my edifice.*"²²

This desperate method of proceeding must have given rise to many difficulties; but Weishaupt overcame them all. By provisional regulations and private instructions he supplied the deficiency of this incomplete code, and he was equal to the task. The greatest obstacles he met with came from those very Areopagites from whom he had expected the greatest support. Villains will disagree even in their villainy; and, impatient of the laws of the state, they become impatient of the laws of their own leaders. Weishaupt wished to take advantage of their views, but had no intention of imparting his to them; he knew his own superiority in the black arts too well, he wished for agents and not counsellors and co-legislators. Jealousies and intestine broils rose to such a height, that any other but Weishaupt would have thought his infant association must have been crushed in its very cradle; but he found means of weathering the storm; now negotiating, then despotically commanding;

suppliant like, he enters into agreements, and ends by dictating conditions; prayers, excuses, all are means with him to command submission; he even showed himself disposed to sacrifice all the fruits of his past labours; he threatened to abandon his rebellious brethren to themselves, and to undertake the direction of a new society more powerful and stronger still, in as much as he would render it more submissive.²³ In the midst of all these broils, he continued and perfected that code which would have required the talents of twenty Machiavels. Storms indeed appeared only to stimulate his ardour and activity; and he says himself, when writing to his dear *Cato*, "I am once more at open war with all our people; *that does no harm, it enlivens the machine*; I can neither praise nor wink at faults committed. Meanwhile our affairs go on very well; and provided they follow my directions the general system will have lost nothing."²⁴ *Night and day*, in the midst of these broils, as he says, *meditating, writing, and combining*, all that could perfect, strengthen, or propagate his Illuminism either in the whole or part, he nevertheless held his professorship with applause, he overlooked his secret school, he formed new adepts, and from his sanctuary watched and overlooked his missionaries in their provinces and new colonies. By means of the *Quibus Licet's* he would descend into the minutest particulars of their conduct, direct them in their undertakings, point out to them what might be done, and reprimand them for what they had not done to promote his views. Voltaire's correspondence under this head is immense; but it is not to be compared to Weishaupt's; not a letter of all those seized by the arm of the law but bears the stamp of the consummate conspirator; not a letter that does not allude to the mysteries or to some new artifice; that does not point out the candidates to be enticed, the adepts to be advanced, animated, repressed, or reprimanded; in short, the enemies who are to be guarded against and the protectors to be courted. His apostles are on the spot in their different missions, while he, from his head-quarters, appears to be better acquainted with those who surrounded them than they are themselves. He goes so far as to inform them of the rank, political or civil station, even of the private characters of those whom they are to recruit; he gives them the means, mentions the persons who are to second them, and what companies they ought to frequent, in order to succeed in their undertakings; in fine, he animates, threatens, and reprimands his adepts, just as if they were still boarding with him, though perhaps at many hundred miles distance. Scarcely have they made any new conquest when he directs them in the same manner and at once governs the main spring and every subservient power throughout the whole Order. His correspondence will show him on the same day writing of the laws necessary for the further establishment of his Order, of treaties to be made, of plans of commerce, and of the most impious commerce, to enrich his Illuminism. At length, with all the hypocrisy of a man who assumes the character of an idler, or at least of one only fulfilling that which his public duty exacts from him, he aims at the supremacy over every conspiring Sect. He gets himself received a Free-mason, he dives into the secrets of the occult lodges of the Rosicrucians, and blends their conspiring arts with his own.²⁵

He next forms an alliance, and from the bottom of Bavaria corresponds with those federations which the free-masons of Poland were preparing; and lest any of these revolutionary arts should be lost, he makes large collections, which might be called the grand arsenal for the seduction of nations; and these are to become the foundations of secret libraries for the use of the adepts. He never loses sight of those profits which accrue from the secret presses, which were perpetually disgorging poison into the minds of the people. For the further replenishment of his coffers, he sets all the talents of his adepts to work; some are to contribute pamphlets, prose or verse, or journals, while others are to collect all the impious doctrines and calumnies of antiquity, or to compose libels on subjects which he gives them; and, for his own part he undertakes to burlesque the Prophets and the Lamentations, and to convert the history of the church into a romance replete with calumny.²⁶ The sacred writings mention a Devil that was named *Legion*, from the innumerable evils he brought upon mankind; were we to consider the fatal activity of Weishaupt in every impious and rebellious art, we should be tempted to believe that he had been possessed by this evil spirit, and that it was to that devil he owed all his success.

As yet the very existence of the Order had not been suspected at Ingolstadt, though there were already in Bavaria alone, five Lodges at Munich; other Lodges and Colonies at Freysinguen, at Landsberg, at Burghausen, and at Straubing. Weishaupt was on the eve of founding others at Ratisbon and Vienna; many had been established in Suabia, Franconia, and Tyrol. His apostles were working at the same time in Holland and at Milan. His Illuminism had not been founded three years, when he writes to *Cato* that he has more than *a thousand adepts*.²⁷ He was much indebted to his own zeal and activity for such a rapid progress. I cannot flatter the historian with the hopes of an accurate account of the whole Legion; but I can satisfy his curiosity, I think, with respect to those who the most actively seconded Weishaupt, and who after their founder appear the most conspicuous on the records of the Sect.

1. The sophisticated masons of France were not strangers to these boyish Lodges. A few years before the destruction of the Jesuits one of these lodges was set on foot in their college of Tulle, styling its members the *Chevaliers de la Pure Verité*, (*Knights of the Pure Truth*.) The Jesuits soon perceived whither this doctrine of *pure truth* and its secret meetings would lead. Before any other method for putting a stop to this new establishment was proposed, they resolved to try the power of ridicule which was almost infallible in France. Accordingly, one of the masters undertook to compose a most sarcastic song on our young Knights, and copies were secretly distributed to all the young men who did not belong to the Lodge. Scarcely could one of the juvenile Knights make his appearance without hearing some ridiculous line of this song hummed in his ears; and in a short time squares, compasses, Lodge and all, disappeared.
2. See the Memoirs of a Protestant Minister on the Illuminees.
3. See the Memoirs of a Protestant Minister on the Illuminees.

4. Original Writings, Sect. IV.
5. Hat doch Christus auch seine apostel in die welt geschickt, und warum sollte ich meinen Petrus zu hause lassen? *Ite et predicate*.—*Original Writings, Letter to Ajax, 19th Sept. 1776*.
6. In the Third Volume of these Memoirs, page 15 [p. 405, Ed.], in the Note [note 8, Ed.], it is said, "it was clear that Zwack was only initiated "*ten* months after the two adepts *Ajax* and *Tiberius*." In place of *ten* we should read *twenty-two* months, as I meant to speak of his installation among the Areopagites, which only took place on the 22d of Feb. 1778. (*Original Writings, Vol. I. Sect. IV.*); but he had been received into the order on the 29th May, 1776, as may be seen by the tablets of *Ajax*. Beside, these tablets and the list just mentioned do not perfectly coincide. The reason of this difference will be explained when treating of the first adepts.
7. This supposed *Alophonsus de Vargas*, whose calumnies against the Jesuits Weishaupt renews with so much eagerness, is no other than *Gaspar Sciopius*, far better known for the grossness and virulence of his tedious discourses against those who dare to differ with him in opinion, than by his erudition. He was particularly abusive against *Scaliger* and *James I* King of England; the latter had him answered in Spain by a severe bastinado. This was also the man who revenged himself in so virulent a manner on *Casaubon* and *Du Plessis Mornai*, his best friends, but who contradicted him on a point of literature; in short, the man who has been alternately called the *Attila*, the *Cerberus*, and even the *public executioner* of all literature. See *Moren's* and *Fuller's Dictionaries*.
8. Let. 3, to Cato.
9. Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. to *Cato*, 25 Aug. and 2 Sept. 1778.
10. Original Writings, Let. 3, to *Cato*.
11. Let. 3, to *Ajax*.
12. To the same, Let. 4.
13. Orig. Writ. Let. 2, to *Philip-Strozzi* or *Cato-Zwack*.
14. Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Let. I. to *Ajax*, Let. 20, to *Cato*.
15. Orig. Writ. Let. 5, to *Ajax*.
16. Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. 12. to *Cato* and *Marius*.
17. See the Code, Vol. 3. Chap. 12, on the Grand Mysteries, Page 288.
18. Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Let. 26, 14th of Nov. 1778.
19. Ibid. Let. 39.
20. Ibid. Let. 36.
21. Let. I. to Cato.
22. Extracts from Let. 8, to *Ajax*, from Letters to *Cato*, and to the Areopagites particularly from Let. 59, Vol. I.
23. Vol. I, Let. 25, 27, 60; Vol. 2, Let. 11, 19, 21, &c. &c.
24. Vol. 2. Let. 19.
25. Let. 6, to *Ajax*, and Let. 36, to *Cato*.
26. Vol. I, Let. 6, to *Ajax*, to *Cato*, 36, &c. To *Philip-Strozzi*, Let. 2, & passim, Vol. 2, Let. 22, et passim.
27. Orig. Writ. Vol. I, see Let. 25, to *Cato*, 13 Abenmeh 1148, that is to say, 13 Nov. 1778.

CHAP. II.

Of the principal Adepts during the first Epoch of Illuminism.

OF this legion of Conspirators, which, as early as the third year of Illuminism, Weishaupt computes at more than *a thousand*,¹ XAVERIUS ZWACK is certainly the most conspicuous among the adepts. He is styled the *incomparable*; and the greater part of the letters printed in the *Original Writings* are written to him, particularly those which comprehend the clearest account of the mysteries; in short, his favour was such, that the founder of the Sect apostrophises him saying, "Now you are in a post where nobody can be above you but myself; you are exalted above all the Brethren; an immense field opens itself for you to exert your power and your influence, should we succeed in propagating our systems."² Such a distinction and such favor naturally suppose great merit. Happily, an incontrovertible monument exists which will direct the Historian in his judgment, and render unnecessary any further research. It is to be found at the end of the first Volume of the *Original Writings*, under the title of *Tablets relating to Danaus, written by Ajax 31st Dec. 1776*. Danaus is the first characteristic name that was given to Zwack when only a candidate. The fact is evident, as in the first column of the Tablets we find the brother Danaus described by his own name; Ajax, that is, Massenhausen, acts the part of Scrutator.—Should this statement not be very flattering, we may at least conclude that the failings and vices of the adept are not exaggerated, since the Scrutator declares, that it is by the extreme intimacy and friendship in which he lived with the Candidate that he has been enabled to make this conquest, and terminates the tablet by stating the Candidate to be one of those Sages who has all the necessary qualifications to be admitted into the Order.—These tablets are also a lasting monument of the rapid progress Weishaupt had made, even in these early days of Illuminism, in the scrutinizing arts; nor will they prove an unfaithful standard by which the Historian may judge of the merits of those conspirators, whom the founder selects as worthy of his most intimate correspondence. Let us begin by suppressing that disgust which naturally drives the honest heart from dwelling on such despicable engines of rebellion remarkable only for their vices, and proceed from these tablets to depict the features which are in future to stand as the model for all those who are to recruit Candidates for the Sect. Let nations and the people at large learn what a miserable banditti of thieves and libertines pretend to regenerate them, and how basely they are duped by them when stirred up to Revolution.

The Tablets, whence Weishaupt is to learn of the merits and demerits of the future *Cato* of his Order, are divided into seventeen columns, each relating to a different head. The name, the age, the civil dignity, the description of his person, the civil and moral character of the candidate, are all treated of separately. Then follow the studies he is addicted to, the services the Order may expect from him, the progress he has made, the degrees conferred on him, the secret manuscripts or books left to him, the contributions he has paid; his friends, his protectors, his enemies, and the persons with whom he corresponds, are each separately treated of.

Under these columns is to be found a second table also subdivided, and containing observations on the family, and particularly of the father and mother, of the candidate, made by the same Scrutator. Combining these two tables, we find, "that Francis Xaverius Zwack was son of Philip Zwack, commissary of the *Chambre des Comptes*, and was born at Ratisbon; that at the time of his initiation (29 May 1776) he was twenty years of age, and had finished his college education."

"*The description of his person.* He was then about five feet high. *His person emaciated by debauchery*, his constitution bordering on melancholy;³ his eyes of a dirty grey, *weak and languishing*,—*his complexion pale and sallow*;—his health weak, and much hurt by frequent disorders;—his nose long, crooked, and hooked.—Hair light brown:—gait precipitate—*his eyes always cast towards the ground*;—under the nose and on each side of the mouth a mole. *The moral character, religion, conscience.* His heart tender, and most extraordinarily philanthropic; but stoic when in a melancholy mood;—otherwise a true friend, circumspect, reserved, *extremely secret*,—often speaking advantageously of himself,—envious of other people's perfections—*voluptuous*, endeavouring to improve himself—little calculated for numerous assemblies—*choleric and violent*, but easily appeased—willingly giving his private opinions, *when one has the precaution to praise him, though contradicting him*—a lover of novelties—*on religion and conscience widely differing from the received ideas; and thinking precisely as he ought, to become a good member of the order.*"

"*His favourite studies, and the services he can render to the order.* Most particularly addicted to philosophy—having some knowledge of the laws—speaking French and Italian very correctly—at present attempting to get himself placed in the foreign department—a *perfect master in the arts of dissimulation; a proper person to be received into the Order*, as applying himself particularly to the study of the human heart."

Friends, correspondence, company.—Here the Insinuastor names five or six persons friends to the candidate. Among them we find a certain *Sauer* and a *Berger*, both of whom soon after appear on the registers of the Sect.

These three columns contain the name of *Ajax* as Insinuator—The day when the candidate was insinuated—and when received.

"*Of the means of gaining and leading the Candidate, and whether he is acquainted with any other secret societies*—Here it appears that Zwack was already connected with other secret societies, which made the conquest rather more

difficult—*The intimacy of our friendship*, (says the Insinuator) and particularly the care which I took to assume a mysterious tone and appearance, levelled many difficulties—at present he expresses a great ardor and zeal for the Order.”

“*Predominant passions—Pride, love of glory, probity, easily provoked—an extraordinary propensity for mysteries—a perpetual custom of speaking of himself, and of his own perfections.*”

In the eleventh column we are informed, that the candidate had received a *pensum* to fill up, or a discourse to make, and that it was to be finished on the 29th April 1778.

The twelfth mentions the fortune and revenue of the candidate; but the Editor has left the figures in blank.

The two next show, that the day on which Zwack engaged to pay his contribution for 1777 was the 29th of May, but for 1778 was the 1st of April. That on the 19th July 1776, he sent a Dutch Ducat, and some time after two books on Chymistry.

The column in which the Insinuator notes the progress of his candidate shows, that the secret books which had been given him to read were those numbered 1, 2, 4, and 9—the orders which he had received are only numbered, as also *the leave given to recruit other Brethren*. As this column is made use of to note the successive progress of the candidate, the Brother Insinuator at length arrives at that period when Zwack has received all the information necessary to his admission into the Order. He then declares that it is time to impart more essential secrets to him and to promote him to higher degrees.

The sixteenth column enumerates his enemies, and the reason of their enmities. In the last we find the names of his friends and protectors.

I should not have insisted so much on these Tablets, had I not thought it necessary to give one specimen at least of these inquisitorial instruments, on which Illuminism grounds the choice of its adepts and the future success of its conspiracies.⁴

When we reflect on the leading features of these tablets, what idea are we to form of Zwack's character? Inordinate debauchery, extreme fatuity, jealousy, dissimulation, and a sullen melancholy.—Such features are more than sufficient to banish him from all good company. He also thinks on matters relating to *religion and conscience* as the adepts do; or, in other words, is a downright Atheist. With an insatiable thirst after *novelties*, he has all that admiration for secrecy which the revolutionist can desire. He, moreover, professes universal philanthropy for all mankind, that he may the better succeed in his plots against every social law; and this could suffice to obliterate all other failings in Xaverius Zwack, and constitute him the favourite adept.

Meanwhile the lessons of the Insinuator, together with that black melancholy which reigned in his heart, had nearly deprived Illuminism of the important assistance of this beloved adept. To despise death was one of the important lessons that we have seen given the novices; and to die by their own hands rather than disclose the secrets of their teachers, was particularly instilled into them. Weishaupt had conceived this maxim in two words, *Patet*

Exitus (the exit is free), or *destroy himself who will*, particularly if he finds himself unhappy in this life. It is a part of that convenient maxim afterwards decreed by the Jacobins, *That death was only an eternal sleep*. Full of this principle, and weary of his existence, our new candidate had persuaded himself that should he die by his own hand he would die the death of a sage. He composed his work entitled *Thoughts on Suicide*. They are the sentiments of an Atheist worn out with debauchery, and almost mad with impiety.⁵ He made his will, and wrote the following letter to Brother *Ajax*.

"Munich, the 30th Oct. 1777.—Friend, I am on my departure. It is the best step I can take. Fare thee well; doubt not of my probity, and let it not be doubted of by others. Confirm the Sages in the judgement they are going to form on my death, and look on those who blame it with pity. Be thou an honest man; think sometimes on me, and do not let me be forgotten by the small number of our friends. Beware of pitying me. ZWACK."

In a postscript he bequeaths a ring as a keepsake to Brother *Ajax*, and begs him to forward a second letter to the whole brotherhood of Illuminism; it is as follows:

"And you also, Brethren, I salute you for the last time; I thank you for your good intentions towards me. I declare to you, that I was worthy of them, I declare it upon my honour; which is my only worth, *and which alone I held sacred*. Let my ashes be honoured by your remembrance; *bless them, while superstition shall curse me*. Enlighten yourselves mutually, labour to render mankind happy, esteem virtue and reward it; punish crime, and behold with pity the failings of human nature. On the brink of his grave, descending into it deliberately, and making choice of death through *conviction*, through *demonstration*, choosing it *for his happiness*, it is thus that he makes his adieu, who ever remains your friend and Brother, ZWACK."⁶

Illuminism must have lost its favourite adept, had he proved as constant in his resolution as he was serious when he took it. No reason is given why he condescended to live; but in like manner as Weishaupt has found a protector in the person of the Duke of Saxe Gotha, so has he been created a Privy Counsellor to the Prince of Salm Kirbourg, and is his ordinary agent at the Imperial Chamber of Wetzlar. At this present moment he is deputy for the House of Salm Kirbourg at Radstadt, at the General Congress of the Germanic Empire treating of peace with the triumphant Illuminees of the French Republic. He is accompanied by a Sieur Ambmann, a citizen of Darmstadt, and an Illuminee like himself. History, I suppose, will at some future time explain how he contrived to combine the interests of the Sect with those of the Powers which he had sworn to annihilate. But let us return to Zwack at a time when he little expected to be carried by the Brethren to that exalted station where he was to decide on the fate of Sovereigns.

His *Thoughts on Suicide*, however, were not lost on his sister-in-law, for she really sought death, and, throwing herself from the top of a tower, dashed her brains out.⁷ But he, who had chosen to live, took umbrage at the great length of his noviciate, and at the many trials *Ajax* made him undergo. He

writes directly to Weishaupt, who, taking him under his direction, begins by telling him that *Ajax* had imposed upon him by not forwarding the letter he had written to the brethren; *but since he has imposed upon you*, says the instructor, *trick him in your turn*; and the following was the method adopted on Weishaupt's proposal. Zwack is established Inspector over his own Insinuator;⁸ and he then gave the most evident proofs that his character had been well drawn, when it was said that *he was a perfect master of the arts of dissimulation*; for although he now became the confidant and bosom friend of *Spartacus*, and was consequently initiated in all the mysteries of the Sect, he nevertheless continued to act the part of a Novice with his Insinuator. He was not only at that time a member of the College of Areopagites, but also the superior of it, and in a perpetual and direct correspondence with Weishaupt. He acted his part so well, that *Ajax*, still considering him as his scholar, thought to do him a great favour in showing him a few of Weishaupt's letters; but they had already passed through the scholar's hands, as did every writing coming from *Spartacus* to *Ajax*.

This part which Zwack acted, of inspecting him who thought himself his inspector, explains that apparent contradiction between the tablets written by *Ajax* and the list of the first adepts, which is to be seen in the Original Writings.⁹ In the former *Ajax* looks upon Xaverius Zwack as a mere candidate till the 29th May, 1778, and in the latter he is styled an Areopagite on the 22d Feb. 1778, under the characteristic of *Cato*; and in a few months after he appears to be the next in command after the *Spartacus* of the Order.¹⁰ Never was an Insinuator better undermined by his novice.

The different names under which this adept appears in the Original Writings has been a matter of some difficulty to many readers; but on paying attention to that predilection, always increasing, which Weishaupt had conceived for this adept, the difficulty vanishes. At first Zwack had received the insignificant name of *Danaus* but no sooner was *Spartacus* made acquainted with his hatred for kings, than he surnames him *Philip Strozzi*, after that famous Florentine Conspirator, who, having murdered Alexander de Medicis, was afterwards taken in open rebellion against his sovereign, and plunged a dagger into his own breast, reciting that verse dictated by all the fury of vengeance:

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.

The suicide, though it did not take place, was equally meritorious in Weishaupt's eyes; and hence Zwack is created the *Cato* of Illuminism. It is under that name that he becomes the principal agent and beloved disciple of the founder at Munich, and their mutual sympathy in wickedness has perpetuated their intimacy.

Though he had not all the genius of Weishaupt himself, he was as much prone to the commission of crime. Scarcely had he entered the Order when for his first essay he declares himself a downright Atheist;¹¹ he at the same time makes known his hatred for kings and his admiration of the people in rebellion against their pretended tyrants.¹² We may observe some of the first

adepts astonished at the immensity of the crimes and disasters which Weishaupt was preparing for the universe; and it requires some management to prepare them for such horrid plots. But his *Cato* is always ready for every thing. The incomparable *Cato* was *arrived at the height of his mysteries*, and Weishaupt had but to unroll his code of iniquity, for his scholar could only be surpassed by the criminality of invention.

This sympathy for impiety and wickedness, however, could not suffice for Weishaupt's policy. His views required a senate of Conspirators; but a senate of agents, and not of equals. The better to be obeyed by the Areopagites, he commands them to meet at a distance from him; for he well understood the nature of secret societies, and knew that his order would be better obeyed the more he enveloped himself in mystery and hid himself from public view. If, in spite of his invisibility, jealousy should arise on the part of the Areopagites, he will have an agent at their head, that *Cato*, who holds the exalted station of president from him, and is therefore most interested to support the authority of the founder, his protector. And it is to preserve this president in his interests, that we see Weishaupt using every artifice, and even supplication: "*support me then*," he says; "*do dispose things so, and prepare their minds, that my dispositions may be received.*"¹³

Weishaupt had no reason to regret his choice; for during all those intestine broils which arose between him and his Areopagites on account of his despotism, Zwack always took the part of his benefactor, was the pacificator, and, stimulating their zeal for his plots and conspiracies, brought them back to that respect due to the *Spartacus* of the Order. It is to him also that Illuminism is indebted for the progress it made in Munich. *Cato* was so zealous a Recruiter, that Weishaupt was obliged several times to repress his ardor. He wanted his assistance for the digesting of his code, and for the government of the Order. In short, the result of their correspondence proves, that no Areopagite either entered so completely into his views, or so justly deserved his confidence as *Cato-Zwack*.¹⁴ And it may be said with truth, that no conspirator ever acted the part of a zealous servant of his prince with so much success as this man. In the midst of his plots of Illuminism, Xaverius Zwack found means of getting himself named *Counsellor to the Court and Counsellor to the Regency, with a salary of twenty thousand florins*. Weishaupt, overjoyed at his promotion, compliments him, saying: "Accept my felicitations on the new appointment. I could wish that all my Areopagites were privy counsellors with salaries of twenty thousand florins; but I could also more ardently wish, that their employments required but little time and labor, as they could then apply more closely to the grand object."¹⁵ The very letter in which Weishaupt compliments his president is one of those to his Areopagites in which he enters into the particulars, and boasts of the progress of his conspiracy.

The second of these Areopagites was a priest of the name of HERTEL, surnamed *Marius* by the Illuminees. It is of this person that Weishaupt writes to *Cato-Zwack*, "*Our Marius is superlatively reserved. On most occasions he*

advances with the greatest *circumspection*; and with respect to religious matters let us flatter his weakness. His stomach is not strong enough as yet to digest the tougher morsels. On all other subjects you may rely on him. Do not give him too much work until he has acquired the habit of business, and taken a liking to the affair. If he be once broke in properly, he can render the greatest services."¹⁶

Notwithstanding all his *circumspection*, Hertel soon suffered himself to be carried away into all the dangers of secret societies, and fell a prey to their machinations. Since he had some conscience left, Weishaupt thought that he could not turn it to a better account than by making him treasurer to the Order, that he might by his economy and honesty repair the numerous breaches that had been made in its funds by the thefts of *Ajax*. The illuminized *Marius* acquitted himself of his office much to the satisfaction of the founder. In recompence for his services, the brethren get him nominated to a canonicate at Munich; and he was so much amused with this intrigue, that he wishes to divert *Cato* with a recital of it, but does not dare commit it to paper.¹⁷ At the period when he came to take possession of his canonicate, all those *circumspect* ideas of religion had vanished. He describes himself as going from the altar to the dens of Illuminism, as publicly investing himself with an ecclesiastical benefice, while in secret he extolls the great services he has rendered to the brood conspiring against the church; *but these also are services*, he says, *too important to be committed to paper*.¹⁸ They are services, however, which I am sure no reader can mistake, when he sees him partaking with Zwack and Weishaupt's intimacy. In the correspondence of the latter are a multitude of letters to be found directed in common to Zwack and Hertel; there are also many instructions; both absolute and provisional, directed to the Areopagites; and in these, it is no longer the conscientious but the apostate Hertel, who, after Zwack, is to occupy the next place and act the principal part.¹⁹ It is this unfortunate priest who appears to have been more particularly charged with the care of stealing or buying for the use of the secret libraries all those miserable productions which might form an arsenal of impiety and rebellion for the corruption of all morals.²⁰ In short, it is he whom *Spartacus* selects from among the brethren as the most proper confidant when premeditating that horrid infanticide mentioned in the beginning of the Third Volume of these Memoirs; and he behaves himself in such a manner as to deserve the thanks of the incestuous parent.²¹

We find a still stronger proof of what horrid monsters were seated in this senate of rebellion in the person of *Celsus*-BAADER. Even before he is admitted into this association, we see him offering the depraved secrets of his art to murder the innocent offspring of incestuous parents; for he is that *Celsus* who had promised Weishaupt two years before to use all the powers of his art to preserve his honor for him at the expence of the most horrid of crimes. Without doubt it is in return for these offers of his services, that Weishaupt is so eager to number him among the adepts, and to grant him those dispensations of which he speaks when writing to Zwack: "If I could but succeed in

enrolling the Physician Baader, tell me beforehand what dispensations and privileges we could grant him among the Areopagites; for unless some dispensations were granted to him, we could not employ him so actively as I could wish."²² This letter was soon followed by a second, in which he expresses in still clearer terms the high value he places on this conquest, and describes the intrigues played off to ensure success. "In order (he writes to his Athenians) to carry my plan into execution in *Athens* (Munich) I stand in need of two men—The one a *Nobleman*, the other a *Physician*. *Cato's* unremitting zeal will soon acquire the means, and he will soon make a conquest of what is wanting to us. The Count S. . . . (*Savioli*, whom *Cato* had just insinuated) shall assume the characteristic of *Brutus*, and he is one of the most important conquests we could have made in *Athens*. The following shall be your method of proceeding with him. Let *Cato* continue to act with him as usual, and particularly attend to his secrecy. After that, let him read our *reformed* statutes to the new candidate, and question him whether he thinks them useful and proper. Should *Brutus* answer in the affirmative, *Cato* will ask the Count whether he is ready to second us in our labours; he will then tell him, that in consideration of the important services he has it in his power to render to the Order, by permitting us to make use of his name, we shall be much less severe with regard to him, in the usual trials, and that he shall be immediately initiated into the higher mysteries. But as a preliminary step he will be required either to deliver Baader over to us, or some other person. That we are very well apprized that he is not to be overloaded with work, and that it is on that account he is dispensed from the usual tasks prescribed by our statutes; that he will comply with them only as far as he pleases; and that we have made a particular choice of him to help us in the *Government of the Order*. Should he deliver Baader over to us, he should also be entitled to the same dispensations, which are to be granted to no other person in *Athens*. You will read the *Degree of Minerval* to the Count with every thing that precedes; if he shows a liking and zeal for the cause, you will also read the *Degree of the Illuminee*; and when you shall have acquired evident proofs of his zeal, and that he shall have made common cause with us by recruiting for us, you may let him into the whole secret.—Hold a similar conduct with Baader."²³

Whether the Brethren at Munich had already adopted this mode of acting, or whether they had followed some other of a similar nature, is not known; but in a very short time after we find Weishaupt's views on Baader accomplished; for on the 13th of December 1778, only three days after the foregoing letter, we find him inscribed on the list of Areopagites. Ever after we find his name mentioned in the correspondence as one of the most active adepts, and as one of those who had the most deeply imbibed the horrid mysteries.²⁴

Another reason, which made Weishaupt more eager for this conquest, was, that Baader read public lectures on medicine at Munich, and therefore had an opportunity of seducing his young pupils, after the example of his

master, who had so efficaciously and fatally made use of his influence to seduce the young students of the law at the University of Ingolstadt.

A similar reason had made him ardently wish to initiate BERGER who also read public lectures at Munich, though I do not find on what science.—His characteristic is *Scipio*, and he was inscribed on the list of Areopagites on the 28th July 1778. A Freemason before he became an Illuminee, he was some time before he could overcome his predilection for his former lodges, in so much even that he asked for his dismissal. *Spartacus* was furious at such a preference. Without showing his desire of retaining the discontented Brother, and not having him sufficiently in his power to make use of threats, he commands Zwack to declare to the Candidate in the *name of the Order*, that he was at full liberty to follow his predilection; but the same letter contains all that is to be hinted underhand to the discontented adept, all that was to be thrown on the pre-eminence and advantages of Illuminism over Masonry. The Professor Berger was so perfectly convinced of this *pre-eminence*, that Weishaupt, to give him the preference over all the other Areopagites, only required of him a little more activity.²⁵

The want of activity was not a fault with which Illuminism could ever upbraid its adept *Coriolanus*. He was a merchant of the name of TROPONERO retired from Hamburgh to Munich. At the time of his initiation he did not employ his talents in that line which Weishaupt judged to be useful for the propagation of his hireling doctrines.—Zwack bethought himself of setting up this Troponero for a public lecturer on finance, and made the proposition to *Spartacus*, who immediately answered, "It is a very good plan both for him and for us, to make *Coriolanus* read lectures on finance; only do you spare no pains to get him scholars. It is a fine occasion for recruiting young men; nor would it be a bad plan if you became one of his pupils yourself, in order to entice others."²⁶ It does not appear whether Zwack relished the descending from the bench of the Areopagites to attend the schools of the new lecturer; but certain it is that the Archives of Illuminism bear testimony of the great services rendered by this *Coriolanus*; and Weishaupt frequently extols his merits. He was particularly useful at all the receptions, assuming that air of ceremonious gravity so becoming in the Grand Master of a Lodge, and so well did he impose on the young adepts, that they had not the least suspicion of the Occult Mysteries of the Rosicrucians, much less of those of Illuminism.

About the same time we meet the names of the two first Illuminized Noblemen whom Weishaupt had initiated into his last mysteries—the one *Hanibal*, the Baron BASSUS; the other *Diomedes*, the Marquis of CONSTANZA. Illuminized Barons and Marquisses, certainly, are a sort of phenomena not easily to be conceived. That men who are never called by their names without being reminded of the great stake they have to lose should property and the social order be overthrown, that such men should plunge themselves into the most horrid conspiracy ever framed against both, can only be believed by those who have attended to the amazing cunning of Weishaupt's Code and the artifice with which it is put in execution. In short the Archives of Illuminism,

the letters, nay the apologies of these *titled* Illuminees, bear too strong proofs of the fact, and must quash all objections. The Baron Bassus, in his pretended justification, owns that he was the person known under the characteristic of *Hanibal*;²⁷ and the letters of this Hanibal not only show that he was an Illuminee himself, but also an apostle of Illuminization, giving an account to the Brethren of his successes at Botzen in Tyrol, and boasting of the important conquests he had made in that town, having enlisted and imbued the *President*, the *Vice-President*, the *principal Counsellors of the Government*, and the *Grand Master of the Posts*, with the most enthusiastic admiration for Illuminism.²⁸ A little farther, the letters of this same *Hanibal* bear testimony of his having gone into Italy, and of his having initiated at Milan *his Excellency the Count W. . Imperial Minister*. Then, meditating new conquests, he proceeds to Pavia, in hopes of enlisting several of the Professors of that University, and finishes by requesting that the geography of the Order be enlarged, that he may have a greater scope for his illuminizing talents.²⁹

With respect to *Diomedes*, or our illuminized Marquis, his letters also bear testimony of his enthusiastic zeal in the service of Weishaupt. He held this Arch-Conspirator in such great veneration that, *with the exception of some few insignificant weaknesses*, he looked upon Weishaupt as the *most perfect, the most profound, and the most extraordinary mortal on earth*. The hours he had the happiness of spending in his company were too short in his opinion, but unhappily long enough to fire him with all that zeal which sends him frantic to Deux Ponts, then to *Nauplis* or Straubingen, and at last to Munich, replete with all that hireling cunning with which the young candidates are to be so completely duped, that they are not *even to surmise that their credulity is to be imposed upon*.—So deeply are the true principles of the Sect rooted in his breast, that to revenge the Order on some Brother who, probably disgusted with the abominable tendency of these mysteries, had made some discovery of them to the Magistrates, he writes to one of the brethren, “Oh the rascal! might not a person, or, to be more correct, *would it be a crime to send such a Devil as this into the other world?*”³⁰

Neither do the Original Writings nor my private correspondence inform me of the real titles of the Areopagite *Solon-MICHT*. He does not appear to have acted any very conspicuous part in the history of the Order. He is only stated to have worn the ecclesiastical habit at Freysinguen; happy for him if it is to this dress that he is indebted for his apparent nullity in Weishaupt's plots.

Next appears HOHENEICHER under the title of *Alcibiades*, who, though seated in the conspiring senate with the Illuminees, does not blush to hold a seat in the senate of Freysinguen as counsellor.

The Eleventh of the Areopagites is *Mahomet* the Baron SCRÖCKENSTEIN. We shall soon behold him presiding over whole provinces that are subject to Illuminism. A few days after his initiation we meet another Areopagite characterized *Germanicus*. Not having been able to discover his real name, I will not give way to conjecture.³¹ At this same period we find a numerous list of persons of consequence initiated in the lower degrees. Such, for

example, were the magistrate of Aichstadt, *Tamerlane*-LANG, and the private secretary GEISER. The characteristic of this adept does not appear; Weishaupt's letter on the great acquisition he had made in this adept sufficiently demonstrates the importance he attached to conquests of this nature, and how far he could turn them to the advantage of his Order.

This letter is of the 10th *Chardad*, 1148 (10th June, 1778); and it is worthy of remark, that it is the first letter which we find in the Original Writings dated according to the Persian *Æra*. It is to his dear *Cato* that Weishaupt writes:—"The acquisition we have made of the private secretary (*secretaire intime*) Geiser is an event of such consequence to us, that our affairs will soon assume quite a different aspect. It obliterates that appearance (much too conspicuous) of novelty. It is for this reason that we ought to mutually congratulate each other and the whole Order. We may now expect to do something great. By enticing men among us of his stamp and of his consequence, we add great weight to our object, and they are useful in keeping our youngsters within bounds. Do not forget to thank and make my most sincere compliments to the private secretary. Men of his importance must have a right to choose their own characteristics, their employment, and the species of labour that they would prefer. You will remember to inform me of it, that I may take the proper steps in consequence."³²

In this class of Brethren of consequence, we must not forget *Brutus* Count SAVIOLI, *Sylla* the Baron MAGGENHOFF and *Alexander* Count PAPPENHEIM. Meanwhile, till we come to treat of ministers and princes drawn into this vortex of sedition, let us hear Weishaupt develop his views, and observe him marshalling his troops; particularly when he takes measures to ensnare those noblemen whom he wishes to make the prime agents and the propagators of the very conspiracies to which they are to fall the first victims. On the 10th *Pharavardin*, 1149 (31st March, 1779), he writes to his *Athenians* of Munich, "Have you not in all your town of *Athens* any strangers who may be immediately admitted into the Order, advanced as soon as possible to the degree of *Minerval*, and then simply instructed in the mysteries of that degree? Such persons may, without any further initiation, be sent to found the system in other countries and make recruits; for example at Augsburg, at Ratisbonne, at Saltzburg, at Landshut, and other towns. To meet with such persons it would be proper for you to go into company, and to frequent assemblies and places of public resort. Since you have done so many others things you may very well do this. At *Erzerum* (Aichstadt) and throughout all *Franconia* I could make a rapid progress if I could but initiate two gentlemen of that country whom I am well acquainted with, and who are men of great wit and much esteemed by the nobility there. This acquisition would soon procure us adepts from among the nobility, men of wit who would recruit for us in their own class throughout *Franconia*.—When we initiated any one at *Athens* to a new degree, these two gentlemen might be called to assist at the ceremony, and would then become candidates for the higher degree. The rank they hold, and their nobility, would also be of use to curb the petulance of your young *Brutus* and other gentry.—In short,

Tamerlane (or the counsellor Lang), who thinks that there are no other adepts at *Erzerum* but those with whom he is acquainted, would be thunderstruck at finding persons in a higher degree than himself, though he had not the least idea they belonged to the Order, and men also of whom he has the highest opinion. Do reflect and deliberate on this.”³³

In the following letters it appears that *Brutus* no longer needed any curb; for he becomes an apostle of the Sect, and sets off on an expedition from which Weishaupt augurs great success. He is even so zealous, that *Spartacus*, on the eve of dismissing several other adepts, mentions him as an useful member who is to be preserved,³⁴ and desires that he may as soon as possible be advanced to the degree of *Major Illuminee*.³⁵ To enable the reader to judge how far he was disposed to serve the Order, it will suffice to record the terms in which he expresses his gratitude for favours received, and the promises he makes in hopes of obtaining new ones. His letter to the *Most Excellent Superiors of Illuminism* is couched in the following terms:

“Most Excellent Superiors!

“Receive my most grateful acknowledgements for the *third degree* with which you have just honoured me. Every part of it is noble, grand, and beautiful; it has perfectly answered the expectations I had formed of it from the *second*. I shall most undoubtedly do every thing that lies in my power to deserve your confidence. In future rely on mine, and believe me to be perfectly devoted to your service.—Nothing in the world shall ever withdraw me from my allegiance to your laws, or make me cease to be guided by you.

“You wrote to me some time since, desiring me to seek for no further advancement at Court, as I could not expect any. I obeyed that order; but as the ministers of the regency have lately paid me some marks of attention, my affairs have assumed a different aspect.—The serious illness of the Emperor having given rise to the idea of a vicarage of the Empire, Brother *Perides* and myself have been mentioned as counsellors in that court; and I have great hopes of being made a privy counsellor (*conseiller intime*). S. . . has taken my cause in hand, and I am indebted to the brothers *Celsus* and *Alfred* for it. *If ever I get into power, the most excellent Order will soon see how much I am devoted to it, and how entirely I belong to it.* In the mean time I can but express my sincerest wishes.”³⁶

Though the advancement which had inspired the Count *Brutus* with so much zeal for the Order left him still at a great distance from the higher mysteries, he nevertheless had a brother who could not flatter himself that he should arrive at even this *third degree*. The insinuator had made a distinction between them. The letter in which he announces their initiation to *Spartacus* will show the reader what other services the Order had to expect from such kinds of adepts.

Cato writes to *Spartacus*: “Here are my new hopes for the Order. After a long perseverance I have at length engaged the young S—(Savioli). He will deliver his brother over to us, who may set our affairs a going at Augsburg. They are both rich. The first I recruited as a *Sta bene*, that is to say, one who

is never to pass the lower ranks. I also engage him, because on certain occasions he will lend us his house, which is very convenient for our meetings; and more particularly because, being rich, he can help us with his purse."³⁷

The same letter mentions a similar *sta bene*: "The Brother *Livius* (RUDORGER) is in future to be looked on as belonging to the same class. He frankly owned to me, that he neither had the time nor inclination to give himself up to our labours. But that he was willing to contribute towards the progress of the Order with his purse, and that he would even furnish us with books for our libraries, and instruments for experiments.—I gave him to understand, that certainly he might remain a member of the Order; but that he could only be classed in future with those who seconded its views with their money."³⁸ Thus did Weishaupt turn the stupidity and ignorance, the impiety and money of his Marquises, Barons, Knights, and Magistrates, to the advantage and propagation of his disastrous plots.—He had already made converts of this nature in the imperial chamber of Wetzlar; for, as early as the 29th of Aug. 1778, we find that *Minos*, the Assessor DITTFURTH, inscribed on the list of Illuminees, the same person whom we have already seen so zealous for the foundation of an illuminized sisterhood.³⁹ At first we find him under a *suspension*, as not to be trusted by the Brethren;⁴⁰ but very soon his zeal makes him at once the admiration and laughingstock of *Spartacus*. The reader must have already observed the art with which Weishaupt obliges every candidate to give the history of his life, with an exact description of his passions and prejudices. The Assessor *Minos* complied with this regulation in so scrupulous a manner, that Weishaupt could not refrain from writing to the Areopagites in the following terms: "*Minos*, that man who bears so high a character, is at present writing the history of his life. *He is as yet only arrived at his seventeenth year, and he has written ninety-three sheets of paper. He is now forty-five years of age.* This will be something more than a general confession. You see what may be done with men if one *does but know how to gain their confidence, and to convince them of the excellency of the object.*"⁴¹ So completely did the imperial Assessor imbibe this principle and learn to convince others of it, that we shall hereafter see him raised to the dignity of Provincial.

However much Weishaupt may have wished to make proselytes among the great, we nevertheless see him recommending to his insinulators to recruit more particularly among the *professors* and *schoolmasters*, as a sure means of gaining over to his views the youth of all classes. Hence it is that *Hermes Trismegistes*, whose real name was SOCHER, and who was superior of the college at Landsberg, receives the special commission to watch and guard against the Jesuits, as sworn enemies to the education he is to give to his pupils.⁴² For the same reason does Weishaupt strain every nerve to fill his university of Ingolstadt with professors and prefects belonging to the Sect. He entreats the adepts at Munich to beset the ministers, and obtain the expulsion of all Jesuits, because these fathers had retrieved the four professors SCHOLLNER, STEINGENBERGER, WURZER, and SCHLEGEL, from Illuminism; and because

he had but three professors left in the university to resist Jesuitism.⁴³ The List of Professors soon swells to an alarming height in all towns where Illuminism makes any progress. On this black list we find *Armenius-KRENNER*; *Cortez-LEMMER*; *Pythagoras-WESSENREIDER*; this latter soon abandoned the Order when his characteristic was given to the Priest and Librarian *DREXL*; but as professor we find three to replace him, *KUNDLER*, *LOLLING*, and above all *BAIERAMMER*, at first called *Zoroastre*, but afterwards *Confucius*. It is this adept that Weishaupt brings at length to Ingolstadt, that he might have for his colleague in the seduction of youth, a man that he himself had initiated in the black arts of his Illuminism.⁴⁴ This serves to account for that zeal with which he sends his adepts into all houses of education, and that solicitude with which he entreats *Cato* and *Marius* to seek out some brethren well drilled to the arts of Insinuator, who might be sent to the UNIVERSITIES of *Salzburg*, of *Innsbruck*, of *Fribourg*, and of other places.⁴⁵

To select the following will suffice to show to what extent these missionary professors succeeded, according to the views of the Order; *Saladin-EKEL*; *Thales-KAPFINGER*; *Timon-MICHL*; *Eudlid-RIEDL*; all from eighteen to twenty years of age; *SAUER*, surnamed *Attila*; and the Emperor *Claudius*, or *SIMON ZWACK*, cousin to the incomparable *Cato*, were of the same age; an age sought after by Weishaupt, as he could the more easily twine the young adept to vice. This docility was far from being the leading feature of his other adepts; they were not all enthusiastically wedded to his plots at this dawn of Illuminism; nor could he make them the passive instruments of his conspiracy. He describes the proselytes he had made among the aristocracy "*as rich, therefore given to all the vices of their state; as ignorant, proud, cowardly, and lazy in the superlative degree; as only seeking their advancement in the mysteries, in order to gratify their curiosity, or even to scoff at the ceremonial of the different degrees;*"⁴⁶ and he wished to find men who would be struck with awe, and be fired with enthusiasm at the sight of these ceremonies. The style of reproach in which he writes to many other of the adepts clearly depicts a set of men destitute of all morals, and having no other views in the Order than to gratify their passions and their avarice; seeking none but their own interests, and often, through their dissolute and immoral conduct, exposing the *founder of the Order* to be looked upon as a *corrupter of youth*.⁴⁷ He was willing to have none but followers that could, like himself, gratify the most infamous passions in private, and who, under the mask of virtue, moderation, and wisdom, imposing on the public, would accredit his Illuminism. With respect to the founder, we have seen him already describing the turpitude of his morals, and the atrocious means to which he had resorted to preserve the mask of his pretended virtue; let us now hear him upbraiding his first adepts with the public depravity of their morals as being prejudicial to his Illuminism: "I have received," says he, "the most fatal intelligence from *Thebes* (*Freisinguen*). They have given a public scandal to the whole town, by admitting into the Lodge that vile *Propertius*, a libertine loaded with debts, and a most detestable being. In that same town is to be found the Brother D——, who is nothing more than a

wicked fellow; our *Socrates*, who could be of the greatest use to us, is always drunk; our *Augustus* has acquired the worst of reputations; the Brother *Alcibiades* is perpetually fighting and pining away at the feet of his landlady; *Tiberius* attempted to lay violent hands on *Diomedes's* sister, and suffered himself to be caught by the husband; *heavens! what men have I there for Areopagites!* What! we sacrifice our health, our fortune, our reputation, to the good of the Order; and these gentry give themselves up entirely to their pleasures and ease, prostitute themselves, give public scandals, and still wish to be acquainted with all our secrets! From this instant I shall look upon *Tiberius* (Merz) as erased from our list. O Areopagites, Areopagites! I would much rather have none at all, than not have men *more active and more submissive.*"⁴⁸

This is not the only letter in which Weishaupt plainly shows what opinions he had himself of his horde of adepts. The following gives as clearer insight into the cause of the alarm he had taken from their public scandals, and their evil tendency for the general good of the Sect. After having told them, *With regard to politics and morals, you are as yet far behind indeed*, he says, "Judge yourselves what would be the consequence, if a man such as our *Marcus Aurelius* (he was a professor at Gottinguen, and his real name was FEDER) were once to know what a *set of men, destitute of morals, what a set of debauchees, liars, spendthrifts, braggadochios, and fools replete with vanity and pride*, you have among you; if such a man, I say, were to see this, what opinion must he form of us! Would he not be ashamed to belong to a society whose chiefs *promise* such great things, and *execute so ill the most beautiful plans*; and all from obstinacy, and because they will not sacrifice one tittle of their pleasures; now frankly declare, am I not in the right? Do you not think that, in order to preserve a man, such as *Marcus Aurelius-Feder*, whose name alone is worth the best part of Germany, I ought to sacrifice and rescind all your whole province of *Greece* (Bavaria), the innocent as well as the guilty? And should I take such a step, who would be to blame? Is it not better to cut off the gangrened members, than to lose the whole body? Can you be so void of all feeling, as to see a select society of men dissolve, and *abandon the reformation of the world*, and that on account of the vices you have plunged yourselves into, and the scandal you give? That would be still worse than an *Herostratus*, worse than all the wicked men of all times and of all ages. Those of you, gentlemen, therefore, who do not approve of this plan, who will not sacrifice your ease and miserable passions, those in short who are indifferent to the praises of the best of men, and who will not labour with us *at making all mankind but one and the same family*, those, I not only pray, but conjure, at least not to impede our labours, and not to entail on the Order the infamy and shame of their public scandals. *Such conduct would be worse than that of real assassins, worse than the plague.*"⁴⁹

However well-founded Weishaupt may have been in making use of such reproaches, the rapid progress made by his Illuminism should have convinced him, that his adepts, in the midst of their debaucheries, never lost sight of the grand object of his mysteries. The reader may judge of their progress by the following note; which, at the same time that it denotes their successes, will

show in what manner they reported them to each other. This document may also begin to explain various mysteries of the revolution.

NOTE, *on the progress of Illuminism, found among the papers of Cato-Zwack, written in his own hand, and contained in the first volume of the Original Writings.*

"We have⁵⁰ at *Athens* (Munich), 1st a regular Lodge of *Major Illuminees*; 2dly, a lesser meeting of *Illuminees*, very well adapted to our purposes; 3dly, a very large and remarkable *Masonic* Lodge; 4thly, two considerable *Churches*, or *Minerval Academies*.

"At *Thebes* (Freysinguen) also there is a *Minerval* Lodge, as well as at *Megara* (Landsberg), at *Burghausen*, at *Straubing*, at *Ephesus* (Ingolstadt), and in a short time we shall have one at *Corinth* (Ratisbonne).

"We have bought a house (at Munich) for ourselves; and we have taken our precautions so well, that the inhabitants not only do not cry out against us, but speak of us with esteem, when they see us going publicly to that house, or to the Lodge. *Certainly that is a great deal for this town.*

"We have in this house a cabinet of natural history, instruments for experimental philosophy, and a library; and all this is daily augmented by the gifts of the Brethren. The garden is to be turned into a botanical one.

"All the scientific journals are procured for the brethren at the expence of the Order.

"By means of different pamphlets we have awakened the attention of the princes and citizens to certain remarkable abuses; we oppose religious Orders with all our might; and we have good reason to be pleased with the success of our endeavours.

"We have entirely new modelled the Lodge on our plan, and have broke off all communication with Berlin.

"We have not repressed all the enrollments of the R. C. (Rosicrucians), but we have succeeded in casting suspicions on them.

"We are in treaty for a strict and effective alliance with the Lodge of —, AND WITH THE NATIONAL LODGE OF POLAND."

Another NOTE written by the same hand, on the political progress of the the Order.

"Through the intrigues of the Brethren the Jesuits have been dismissed from all the Professorships; we have entirely cleared the university of Ingolstadt of them.⁵¹

"The Dowager Duchess has modelled her *Institute for the Cadets* entirely on the plan prepared by the Order. *That house is under our inspection; all its Professors belong to our Order; five of its members have been well provided for, and all the pupils will be ours.*

"On the recommendation of the Brethren *Pylades* is made the *ecclesiastical fiscal counsellor*. By procuring this place for him, we have put the church monies at the disposal of the Order: and by means of these monies we have already repaired the mal-administration of our ——— and of ——— and have delivered them from the hands of the usurers.

"With these monies, also we support new Brethren.

"The Brethren who are in orders have all been provided with *livings* and *curacies*, or with preceptor's places.

"Through our means too, the Brothers *Armenius* and *Cortez* have been made *Professors in the University of Ingolstadt*. We have also got purses for all our young candidates in the same university.

"On the recommendation also of our Order, two young men are travelling *at the expense of the Court*. They are at present at Rome.

"The *Germanic schools* are all under the inspection of the Order, and have no other prefects than our Brethren.

"*The Benevolent Society* is also under our direction.

"The Order has obtained an augmentation of pay and salaries for a great number of Brethren who are employed in the *Dicasteres* (that is to say, at the Boards of Administration).

"*We have obtained four ecclesiastical chairs for as any of our Brethren.*

"We shall shortly be *masters of the Bartholomew Institution for the education of young ecclesiastics*. All our measures are ready for that purpose. The business has taken a very favorable turn; *by this means we may stock all Bavaria with priests both clever and proper* (for our object).

"We have similar hopes and views on another house of priests.

"Through incessant application, indefatigable efforts, and the intrigues of *different* — —, we have at length succeeded in not only maintaining the Ecclesiastical Council, which the Jesuits wished to destroy, but also in assigning over to this council, to the colleges and universities, all those goods which had still remained under the administration of the Jesuits in Bavaria, such as the institution for the mission, the golden alms, the house of retreat, and the funds for the newly-converted. Our Major Illuminees, to effectuate this, *held five meetings; several of them remained there whole nights; and — —.*"

This latter article is also mutilated by the editor of the Original Writings. The Court of Bavaria did not think proper to publish the names of those *different persons* (ministers and others) who so well seconded Weishaupt and his adepts on this occasion. The Jesuits at least strongly suspected the Count of SENSEIM to be one of the *different* ——— ———, and those of the English college of Liege, in particular, had reason to believe that he was one of those to whom they were indebted for the loss of a pension of ten thousand florins, which had always been paid to them by the Court of Bavaria. How far these suspicions are grounded I do not pretend to say; but certain it is, that this Count Senseim appears on the list of adepts under the characteristic of *King Alfred*. But without our entering into any discussion, the two notes I have just

translated clearly evince, that the adepts did not deserve to be so frequently reprimanded for inactivity as Weishaupt seems to have thought.

What a strong light is thrown on the secret history of the Revolution by these two notes, even in their mutilated state! A large portion of the clergy, it is true, have been faithful to their duty; but Europe has been astonished at seeing so many of them plunged into the most horrid scenes of impiety. We here learn from *Cato-Zwack* who those false pastors were. These atrocious hypocrites are selected by the Sect, imbued with all the venom of its principles, and then ushered into the bosom of the church under its baneful protection. It had said to them, assume the appearance of piety and zeal, and pretend to believe in the symbol of the priesthood, and we shall find means of installing you in the livings of the church, and of making you the rectors and pastors of the flock. You shall publicly preach the doctrine of the Gospel, and your exterior shall coincide with the duties of those stations; but in secret you shall second our views, and prepare the way for us. It would be a futile objection to ask how it was possible to find monsters whose depravity could make them consent to act such scenes of hypocrisy even in the Holy of Holies! We have the authority of *Cato-Zwack*, who tells us that they assumed the characters and functions of rectors and curates, of canons, professors, and teachers in the *Catholic* Church. We shall soon see the same game played with respect to the *Protestant* Church; and thus were both churches ministered to by wretches who had sworn their destruction.

A similar mode of proceeding was adopted for the destruction of the state, and that at the first dawn of Illuminism. It is *Cato* again who informs us of the intrigues, views, and successes of the Sect, insinuating its adepts into the *Dicasteres*, the councils, and boards of administration, which are paid by the prince and state; he points them out as having gained access into the councils of the prince and of the state, carrying with them all the treacherous plots of the most disastrous conspiracy against both prince and state.

Many readers have been astonished at seeing whole generations rise imbued with the principles of the most rank jacobinism, and that from schools founded by princes for the instruction of youth; but *Cato* again solves the difficulty, when he speaks of the *Institution* founded by the Dowager Duchess.

In short, it will be incumbent on future historians to tell their readers whence were obtained those treasures spent in the propagation of the principles of the Sect, in the peregrinations of its apostles, and in the support of its pennyless adepts; they will find the talk already completed by the Sect itself, which tells us, *that its novices are supported at the expence of the public foundations*; that its millionaires are paid and sent to foreign parts by the prince, who has been misled to believe that he was sending men in the pursuit of arts and sciences. Moreover, does not the Sect betray itself, when introducing its adepts into the *administration of the ecclesiastical property*, and with that property paying the debts of its Lodges, supporting the apostles of its conspiracies, re-establishing its former clubs, and erecting new ones. Let the historian reflect on the conditions under which such a multitude of adepts have been ushered

into livings and other employments, and he will soon perceive the funds of the Sect swelled to an immense bulk by those shares which it preserves for its own use out of all the emoluments which it has procured for its adepts either in church or state.

But in this same note an enigma occurs of a quite different nature. The reader may have observed *Cato-Zwack* at once exulting in having founded a *masonic Lodge* at Munich for the Illuminees, and in the victories gained by the Illuminees over the *Rosicrucian Masons*. What can have given rise to this contradiction, at the same time to imitate the Free-masons, and to declare war against the most famous adepts of Masonry. These questions naturally lead us to the investigation of the most profound device that Weishaupt ever invented for the propagation of his plots. They relate to his first attempt, to the diversity of the means used, his success, and finally to his triumphant intrusion into the masonic Lodges. In order to solve them, I shall in the following Chapters lay before my reader the most remarkable passages of the Archives of the Sect, or of the letters and avowals of the most celebrated adepts relating to that famous plan, the execution of which belongs to the second epoch of the Sect; and unfortunately it may be too truly called the epoch of the Illuminization of Free Masonry.

1. Original Writing, Let. 25, to *Cato*.
2. Ibid. Vol. I, Let. 27.
3. Der ganze bau seines durch debauché mager gewordenen körper incliniert nun zum melancolischen temperament.
4. Many readers may be curious to know what is contained in the second table, subjoined to that which describes the candidate. It is in ten columns, comprehending the names and rank of Zwack's relations, an account of their children, their fortune, their alliances, friends, and enemies; the company they keep, particularly the education they have received, and their moral character, which is called *their strong or their weak side*. The Editor has thought proper to omit some articles in this table—The two which appear to be the most perfect are on *the strong and weak side* of Zwack's parents, who, according to the Insinuator, have received an *antiquated education not worth much*. The father is described as "jealous of his honor, honest, zealous in the discharge of his duty—apparently harsh to his inferiors, but really loving them to excess—speaking to every body with a tone of authority and in a pedantic style—In his habits and speech impolitically frank—secret, and sparing even to the want of necessities when he can serve his Prince, zealously serving him without distinction of persons, to the risk even of losing all his employments—feeling, humane, mysterious, officious, and proud of his experience—carefully attentive to the whole of his affairs."

As to the mother, "*She is a good housekeeper—absorbed in her dear child Xaverius Zwack, and so forth*"—Many other things have been suppressed in this latter table. But there still remains more than sufficient to give all relations of Illuminism an idea of the methods used by the scrutinizing Brethren to pry into their most secret conduct, and to describe their most private interests to the Order.

5. See Orig. Writings, Vol. I. Sect. 20.

6. See Orig. Writings, Vol. I, Sect. 20.
7. Ibid. in the Note.
8. Let. I, to Philip Strozzi.
9. Vol. I, Sect. IV.
10. Letter 27, to Philip Strozzi.
11. See his Disc. on Societies, Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Sect. XXII.
12. See his Thoughts on Suicide.
13. Orig. Writ. Vol. I. particularly Let. 55.
14. See the Original Writings, Letters to *Cato*.
15. Ibid. Vol. III. Letter 2.
16. Ibid. Vol. I. Letter 7 to *Cato*, 27 March 1778.
17. Ibid. Letter from *Marius* to *Cato*, 3d Nov. 1783.
18. Letter from *Marius* to *Cato*, 3d Nov. 1783.
19. Ibid. Vol. I. Sect. IX. See the Instructions for *Cato*, *Marius*, and *Scipio*.
20. Ibid. Vol. I. Letter 46, and Vol. II. Letter 3, &c.
21. Ibid. Vol. II. Let 3 and 4.
22. Ibid. Vol. I. Let 29, of the 30 Dec. 1778.
23. Ibid. Vol. I. Let. 33, 11th Dec. 1778.
24. Vol. II. Let. 13, from *Spartacus* to *Celsus*.
25. Ibid. Vol. I. Let. 46 and 58.
26. Ibid. Let. 3, to *Cato*.
27. Page 6.
28. Original Writings, Vol. I. Sect XLV.
29. Ibid. Vol. II. Sect. IV. Let. 1 and 2.
30. Oder Schurkl! Könnte man nicht, oder um besser zu sagen, wäre es nicht erlaubt, so einen Teufel in die andere welt zu schicken—*Original Writings, Vol. I. Sect. XLIV. Letters 1 and 2.*
31. In order to discover the real name of an adept, it will often suffice to combine their letters, and particularly those in which Weishaupt declares the characteristics to be given to candidates, with what is afterward said of them under their new names. The German journals, and divers other writings in that language, my own private correspondence with, and memorials that I have received from men who, living on the spot, have been enabled to procure more accurate documents with respect to these different personages, have furnished me with the means of discovering many others on whom no shadow of doubt can be entertained.
32. Orig. Writ. Vol. I, Let. 13, to *Cato*.
33. Ibid. Vol. I. Let. 39.
34. Orig. Writ. Vol. I, Let. 58.
35. Ibid. Vol. II. Let. 13.
36. Orig. Writ. Vol. II. *Quibus licet* from *Brutus*.
37. Damit er an geld beytraget.
38. Orig. Writ. Vol. I. Sect. xxxii. Letter from *Cato* to *Spartacus*.
39. Vol. III. of these Memoirs, page 41 [p. 418, Ed.].
40. Orig. Writ. Sect. iv. See the List.
41. Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Let. 7 and 10.
42. Vol. I. Let. 28.
43. Vol. I. Let. 36, 30 Jan. 1778.

44. See particularly Let. 24, Vol. I.
45. Ibid. Let. 40.
46. Vol. II. Let. 1.
47. Ibid. Let. 11.
48. Ibid. Vol. II. Let. 9.
49. Original Letters, Vol. 2, Let. 10.
50. This note begins with these words: *The number in Greece consists of*—whether *Cato* did mark the number or not, I know not; but the editor has left it in blank, and the sentence is incomplete. Mr. Robison has inserted the *number* 600; but as he does not give his authority, I shall content myself with translating, and shall continue with Zwack.
51. Durch die verwendung der Br. Br. (Brüdern) wurden die Jesuiten von allen professor stellen entfernt, die Universtät Ingolstadt ganz von ihnen gereinigt.

CHAP. III.

*Epoch of the Illuminization of Free-masonry.—
Weishaupt's attempts on the Masonic Lodges.—
Acquisition of Knigge, and his first Services.*

LET us for a moment suppose every thing that has been said in these Memoirs relating to the nature, object, origin and secrecy of Masonry, to be no more than a conjectural system; let it still further be supposed, that the cloud which encompasses the origin and history of Masonry is for ever impenetrable; let even the Brethren and their Masters exalt still higher the merits and glory of their ancestry; yet, for the misfortune of our contemporaries, the day is come when all this glory is sullied, when the Orators of their own Lodges with grief exclaim "Brethren and Companions, give free vent to your sorrow; the days of *innocent Equality* are gone by. However holy our mysteries may have been, the Lodges are now prophaned and sullied. Brethren and Companions, let your tears flow; attired in your mourning robes attend, and let us seal up the gates of our temples, for the prophane have found means of penetrating into them. They have converted them into retreats for their impiety, into dens of conspirators. Within the sacred walls they have planned their horrid deeds and the ruin of nations. Let us weep over our *legions* which they have seduced. Lodges that may serve as hiding places for these conspirators must remain for ever shut both to us and to every good citizen."¹ These complaints and awful lamentations are not mine; they proceed from the mouth of the venerable Master of a Lodge; they are contained in the funeral oration pronounced on Masonry in presence of the Brethren assembled for the last time in a Lodge in Germany, and fighting over the sorrowful destiny of their Confraternity. Unfortunately for the honour of the Brotherhood, their sorrow was but too well-grounded; and it is our duty to adduce proofs of it. Whatever may have been its mysteries heretofore, *FREE-MASONRY is now become criminal*. If it be not so in itself, it is become so through Weishaupt's means; it has brought about, or he has brought about through its means, the most disastrous of all revolutions. This awful truth can no longer remain hidden. History must sound its trumpet, and let it adduce its proofs; for never has it yet given so awful a lesson to nations on the fatal effects of secret societies.

From the commencement of his Illuminism Weishaupt had foreseen the great support he could draw from the multitude of Free Masons dispersed throughout Europe, should he ever be fortunate enough to form an alliance

with them. "Let me tell you a piece of news," he writes to *Ajax* as early as the year 1777: "Before the next carnival I shall go to Munich, and shall get myself admitted a Free-mason. Do not let this alarm you; *our business will not suffer in the least; but by this step we become acquainted with a tie or new secret, and by that means shall be stronger than the others.*"² Weishaupt accordingly received the first degrees of Masonry at Munich, in St. Theodore's Lodge. At first he could only observe the bagatelle of an innocent fraternity, yet even then he perceived that *Equality and Liberty* were the ground-work of all amusements of the Brotherhood. He surmised further mysteries. In vain they assured him, that all political or religious discussions were banished from the Lodges, and that every true Mason was essentially a staunch friend to his prince and to Christianity. He had said the same thing to *his Novices* and to *his Minervals*; and he knew too well what became of all these protestations in his Illuminism. He easily conceived that a similar fate awaited these declarations in the higher degrees of Masonry. Soon his faithful Zwack furnished him with the means of penetrating into the higher mysteries of Masonry without subjecting himself to all the necessary trials. This latter adept had made acquaintance at Augsburg with an Abbé of the name of MAROTTI. At one of their interviews Marotti had initiated him into the higher degrees, and even into those of the *Scotch Lodges*. He had explained to him all the mysteries of Masonry, absolutely founded, as he said, on religion and the history of the church. Cato-Zwack shows us, by the eagerness with which he announces his discovery to *Spartacus*-Weishaupt, how much this explication coincided with the plots of his impiety.³ No sooner has Weishaupt (who on his side was making all possible enquiries) received the news of this interview, though no particulars were mentioned, than he immediately answers, "I doubt much whether you are acquainted with the real object of Masonry; but I have acquired some information on that subject, which I mean to make use of in my plan, and which I reserve for our higher degrees."⁴ Cato soon sent a circumstantial account to his master of the explanation that had been communicated to him, and received for answer, "the important discovery you have made at *Nicodemia* (Augsbourg), in your interview with the Abbé Marotti, gives me extreme pleasure. Profit of this occasion, and get all you can from him."⁵

In reading such passages of their most intimate correspondence, one is naturally led to ask what can occasion this extreme joy in the two most monstrous conspirators that have ever appeared on earth, at the mere discovery of the mysteries of the occult Lodges of Masonry, and of those even of the *Scotch Lodges*! Has Weishaupt then been anticipated by the Masons in the explanation he had given of their symbols, and which he has actually inserted in his mysteries?⁶ Could there have pre-existed in these occult Lodges of Masonry an impiety and plots strangely preparatory for that infidelity and those plots of *Cato* and *Spartacus*? The consequence is frightful; but is that a reason why nations should be blind and deny the testimony of truth; are we, for the honor of Masonry, to be silent on the hidden snares laid for them, and which will continue to be laid not only for them but for all nations in general.⁷

Well satisfied with the discovery he had made, Weishaupt begins to press the establishment of a Masonic Lodge for his pupils of Munich. He immediately ordered all his Areopagites to get themselves made Masons; he laid his plans for similar initiations at Aichstadt; and in all the other colonies of the Order.⁸ Notwithstanding all his efforts, success declared but slowly in his favour. He was in possession of the secrets of the Masons, but they were not initiated in his. The Rosicrucians saw with regret another secret society rising, which drew its members from their Lodges, which already began to bring their meetings into disrepute by bragging that it alone was in possession of the real secrets of Masonry. Notwithstanding the impiety of the secrets of the Rosicrucians, and though their systems all had a similar tendency with respect to the annihilation of Christianity, still the path they had chosen was quite different from that which Weishaupt had adopted. He despised all the nonsense of their Alchymy; above all he detested their Theosophy. He laughed at the double principle, at the *good* and *evil* genii, and at all those demons on which the Rosicrucian founds his Magic, Cabal, and Mysteries of ABRAC;⁹ in short, notwithstanding all the benefit Weishaupt expected to reap from these mysteries, symbols, and explanations of Masonry, he treated with the most sovereign contempt every thing that is purely cabalistic folly and reverie in the Rosicrucians. He adopted all their means of impiety and laughed at their fooleries. It was the contention of impiety, fallen on the one side into the most absurd Atheism, and on the other into the most miserable superstition. Hence arose those dissensions and jealousies mentioned by *Cato-Zwack* when tracing the progress of Illuminism; and it was for a long time doubtful which of the two competitors was to be crowned with success. During the conflict we see Weishaupt daily inventing new means of triumph; but he was undecided as to the use he should make of his victory, "In the first place," he writes to Zwack, "I should have wished to send to London for a constitution for our Brethren; and I should still be of that opinion if we could make ourselves masters of the Chapter (the Masonic) of Munich. You would do well to try. I can come to no determination on that subject until I have seen what turn our affairs take. Perhaps I shall only adopt a reform; or it may be better to create a new system of Masonry for ourselves; or, may it not be thought convenient to incorporate Masonry into our Order, and thus to make but one body of them both. Time alone can decide this."¹⁰

To relieve the Founder from this state of indecision, it was necessary that he should become acquainted with a man who laid less stress on difficulties, and who knew how to cut them short. The demon who wields the fiery sword of revolutions throws a Hanoverian Baron in his way, of the name of KNIGGE. At this name every honest German Mason will start back, as at the man who corrupted *even* the fraternal bagatelles of the *first degrees* of Masonry, and consummated the depravity of their impious Rosicrucians. The honest Brethren, in their indignation, would almost forget Weishaupt to overpower Knigge with the whole weight of their hatred; and to heap on him alone all the opprobrium of the Lodges now become the great seminaries of Illuminism.

The truth obliges us to say, that *Philo-Knigge* was no other than the worthy tool of *Spartacus-Weishaupt* in this grand intrusion. That which was executed by the one had long since been conceived by the other; and, in all probability, had it not been for the profound combinations of the one, the wicked activities of the other would have proved fruitless in its attempts. Unfortunately in the re-union of their baneful talents were to be found all the requisites for the most consummate conspirators; in the one, for the directing of the most disastrous of all Sects; in the other, for the propagation of its mysteries and in the recruiting of its conspiring bands.

Weishaupt, like Satan, profoundly meditated the destruction of mankind, while Knigge may be compared to those Genii winged like the plague, ever hovering and impatient to receive the Orders from the King of Hell to bend their course wherever he will point out evil to be done. Weishaupt proceeds slowly in his combinations, weighs his resources, compares the different essays, and, lest he should mistake, defers and suspends his choice. Knigge, in his levity, has sooner acted than deliberated; he sees where evil can be done; he does it, and is ready to sound a retreat, should his first attempts fail of success. The one foresees the obstacles he may have to encounter, and seeks to evade them; the other proceeds boldly in spite of all, and looks on the time spent in reflection as so much lost from the execution. The former is aware of every fault that can impede his progress; the latter proceeds heedless of the false steps he may have taken.

Encompassed with darkness, how great would have been the happiness of Weishaupt could he but have been gratified with a sight of the world in ruins, and that without being himself seen! The consciousness of his crimes would have been to him that grateful sensation which virtue raises in the honest heart. The power of doing harm is more dear to him, than a celebrity which might have proved fatal to the execution of his plots. Knigge, on the contrary, shows himself every where, meddles with every thing, his utmost ambition was to appear to have been the agent in whatever was done. Both are impious, and both have sworn the overthrow of the laws; but Weishaupt from the very beginning had laid down his principles; he had followed them through all their consequences; his revolution is to be the accomplishment of them all; and he will think his attempt fruitless, should a single law, social or religious, escape the general wreck. With Knigge, both his impiety and his plans of rebellion have had their gradual progression; he successively attended all the public and occult schools of the Infidelity of the age. He can vary his means and adapt himself to the different characters he has to deal with. He also wishes for a revolution, but he will not lose the occasion of one that offers, in hopes of that particular one which he wishes to operate. Where he cannot form an Atheist, he will form a Deist or a Sceptic; as circumstances may require, he will act the part of any species of Sophister, or engage in any degree of rebellion. Weishaupt wishes to involve in universal ruin religion, magistrates, society, and property, that he may install his *nomade* clans, his *Men Kings*, and his *Equality* and *Liberty*. Knigge is content to destroy less, provided

he despotically sways over all that has escaped destruction. In the silent shades of his retreat, the one has more accurately studied the nature of man, and has laid his plans for new-modelling human nature according to his views. The other is better acquainted with them from his habit of intrigue, and is easier pleased with the ascendancy he can acquire over them. In short, the former may be said to prepare his poisons with more art, while the latter retails them better; and between them they wield the mighty power of destruction.

When the common enemy of human nature brought these two fiends of rebellion in contact with each other, they had already acquired all those habits and means which must render their union fatal to mankind. The Hanoverian Baron had been cast upon the earth nearly at the same time that the Bavarian monster had been engendered. His whole life appears to have been but one continued preparation for the part he was to act in seconding Weishaupt, and particularly to open the gates of the Lodges from the North to the South and from the East to the West to receive the founder of Illuminism, and deliver over to him all those adepts who, trained by the higher mysteries of Masonry, had long since been prepared to receive those of the modern *Spartacus*.

Knigge informs us, that from his youth he had always had an invincible propensity towards secret societies; and that while a boy he had founded one of those little societies so common in the Protestant Universities, and of which we have before spoken. He had acquired this turn from his father, whom he had observed spending his time in the study of the Masonic Mysteries, and his money in the vain pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone. The father's gold had vanished in the crucible, and the son reaped nothing but the dross. No sooner had he attained the necessary age, than he got himself made a Freemason in one of those Lodges called of the *Strict Observance*. He rose to the degree of *Templar*, that is to say, of those Masons who, still flattering themselves with the hopes of recovering the possessions of that once celebrated Order, distribute in the mean time the different titles formerly borne by those Knights. Knigge became one of these Brother Commanders under the title of Eques a Cygno (*Knight of the Swan*). Contrary to his expectations, he found this to be but an empty title without any emolument. Wishing to make up for this deficiency, and still more actuated with the desire of acquiring that importance in the Lodges at least, which he could not acquire elsewhere, he made himself the disciple of the famous Mountebank SCHROEDER at Marbourg. When in company with this Schroeder, or the Cagliostro of Germany, *What man, as he says himself, would not have been fired with zeal for Theosophy, Magic, and Alchymy?* These were the mysteries of the Masons of the *Strict Observance*. *Violent, fantastical, and restless*, as he describes himself, he at the age of five-and-twenty was a firm believe in all these mysteries; he even practised all the evocations of spirits, and other follies of ancient and modern Cabal. Soon he began to doubt whether *he really believed or ought to believe* in all this stuff. *He flattered himself* with the hopes that, in the midst of these enchantments and magic spells, *the chaos of his ideas would subside*. To gain knowledge, and put his mind at ease, he would willingly have gained admission into every Masonic

Lodge. He found means of getting admitted into the higher degrees, *procured the rarest and most mysterious manuscripts*, and even studied all their different Sects.¹¹ Then, as he wished to convert himself into a vast emporium of every error, he applied to the doctrines of the modern Sophisters, and thus plied his unfortunate brain on the one side with all the delirious conceits of Cabalistic Masonry, and on the other with the impious doctrines of the self-created Philosophers. His attempts at fortune were similar to those he had made for the acquisition of science, nor was he more successful.—A courtier without favor, he deserts his Prince to take the direction of a Playhouse; thence he accepts a commission in the service of the Prince of Hesse Cassel; but is soon dismissed, in consequence of the violence and restlessness of his temper. He then turns author, and writes violent declamations against the Roman Catholics; then, in consequence of some hope of preferment (I know not what), he makes a public profession of their faith, but, not succeeding as he hoped, he deserts them, abuses them more scurrilously than ever, takes part again with the Protestants, but writes in favor of Deism.¹² Such had been the restless education for the man who was to prove the most worthy supporter and the most active co-operator that Weishaupt yet had found.

By a strange coincidence, just at the very time that these two Conspirators met, Knigge had been projecting a conquest of Masonry, and had formed such plans for an universal conspiracy, that he scarcely leaves the honor of invention to Weishaupt. The account given by Knigge will best explain the coincidence.

It was in the year of our Lord 1780; and a general assembly of Masons had been convoked at Willemsbaden for the next year, under the protection of the Duke of Brunswick and of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. "On the news of this," says *Philo-Knigge*, "I cast an eye on the immense multitude of Brethren: I observed it to be composed of men of all stations in life, of noblemen, of men of great riches, of great power, and also of Brethren possessing great knowledge and activity. I saw these men all actuated by one common sentiment, though I could not very well conceive the object of their union. I saw them all bound by an oath of the most profound secrecy, without being able to form any better idea as to the object of it. I beheld them divided in their opinions, nor could I comprehend on which side the error lay; still less could I surmise what had been the grand obstacle that had impeded the advantages which mankind had reason to expect from Freemasonry.... Nevertheless how great would these advantages have been, if, distinguishing actions from speculations, opinions had been left to each individual, while a regular system of conduct was followed, perpetually tending towards the advantage of humanity in general, *and of the Brethren in particular!* Had they agreed on a system of laws for the mutual and general support of each other; to raise depressed or obscure merit; to second with all the power and influence of Masonry all plans for general utility; *to favor the advancement of the Brethren; to measure out the different employments in the State to the Brethren, according to their capacities, and in proportion as they should have profited of the advantage to be reaped*

from SECRET SOCIETIES in the arts of knowing men and of governing them without constraint."¹³

"Meditating and musing on these ideas," continues Knigge, "I had resolved on all my plans of reform, and had sent them to Willemsbaden. I received polite answers; they promised to take my work into consideration at the general meeting that was about to be held. But I soon had reason to believe, that the benevolent and disinterested views of the illustrious chiefs and protectors of Masonry would be but very ill seconded; that partial views and discordant interests would play off every artifice to make the systems of particular Sects predominate; and I foresaw how difficult it would *be to make one cap fit so many heads*. Meanwhile I communicated my plans to different Masons, and repeatedly expressed my fears; when, in July 1780, I made acquaintance with *Diomedes* (the Marquis of Constanza) in a Lodge at Franckfort on the Mein, who had been sent from Bavaria by the Illuminees to establish new Colonies in the Protestant States. I informed him of my views with respect to a general reform of Freemasonry; and that, perfectly convinced of the inutility of the meeting at Willemsbaden I had resolved to work at the establishment of my system seconded by a few Masons my particular friends, and who were spread throughout Germany. After having heard me explain my intentions, "Why," said he, "should you give yourself the trouble to found a new society, when there already exists one which has undertaken all that you wish to do, which can in every way gratify your thirst for knowlege, and open a wide field for your activity and desire of being useful; a society, in short, which is in possession of all the sciences and all the authority necessary for the accomplishment of your object."¹⁴

The Marquis was correct; for there existed a most striking coincidence between the plots of his master and those proposed by Knigge to raise depressed or obscure merit, and succour suffering virtue; to teach the adepts the art of knowing men; to conduct mankind to happiness, and to govern them without their perceiving it. Like Knigge, Weishaupt also had invented that invisible concatenation which, proceeding from the tenebrous meeting of his lurking senate, was to extend its ramifications over every class of citizens, and, dictating laws from these dark recesses, the Brotherhood was to leave no art untried to cause them to be promulgated by the councils of the Prince.¹⁵ Thus far the two Arch-conspirators follow the same plan; but the truth is, that Weishaupt only seeks power to destroy, and gives laws but to annihilate every law; while *Philo-Knigge* will look upon nations as sufficiently free, provided he can but subject their magistrates and rulers to the decrees of the Masonic Lodges; though the Liberty, therefore, sought by the one be the death of society, that of the other will be its eternal shame. Two such men could not long remain separate; pride may give rise to temporary disagreements; but they will co-operate sufficiently for the misery of mankind.

Knigge could scarcely express the joy of astonishment with which he learned that the plans he had conceived were already executing. He threw himself into the arms of the Illuminizing Apostle, and immediately received

the degrees of Candidate, of Novice, and was even admitted into the *Minerval* Academy. Weishaupt soon felt the importance of such an acquisition, though in Revolutionary Impiety he found Knigge even more advanced than he wished. This latter immediately set to work for the Illuminees with as much zeal as if he had been prosecuting his own plan, and took upon himself the mission on which *Diomedes* had been sent. Never had Illuminism beheld so active and insinuating a Recruiter. The list of Novices and Brethren was swollen with amazing rapidity, nor did he, like Weishaupt, merely enlist youths coming from the College, but men who had attained the age of maturity, and whose impiety was already known to him.—He more particularly selected those whom in the Lodges he had observed to have a greater propensity for the Occult Mysteries.

Weishaupt in his first surprize could not help admiring his new Apostle; and thus extolls him to his Areopagites: "*Philo-Knigge alone does more than all of you put together could even hope to do.... Philo is the master from whom you all should take lessons.... Give me only six such men, and I will engage to change the whole face of the universe.*"¹⁶ The grand point which gave Weishaupt so much pleasure was the *discovery of that generation of men* who were already prepared for his plots, and which in part dispensed with the laborious education he had found necessary for the preparation of youth; and indeed we soon after see him instructing his recruiters to follow Knigge's method of proceeding.¹⁷ Nor was he less pleased to see the Sect daily gaining ground, and that without any violence, in those very Lodges which he wished so much to reduce under his subjection. This rapid success, however, gave rise to difficulties which must have disgusted any other man; but Knigge was exactly the person to remedy them.

Tricked by the Apostolic Marquis, as the latter had been before by Weishaupt, with regard to the antiquity, omniscience, and power of Illuminism, Knigge had only been admitted as yet to the preparatory degrees; nor had he the least suspicion that the remaining degrees had no existence but in the brain or portfolio of the modern *Spartacus*.—He expected grand mysteries; he asked for them, both in his own name and in the name of the Old Masons who were not to be treated like boys from the college in their *Minerval* Academy.—Weishaupt had recourse to all those subterfuges by which he had heretofore succeeded in keeping his pupils in suspense with respect to the higher mysteries; and the more he extolled them by asking for new trials the more pressing Knigge became, who told him that such trials might be *necessary in the Catholic countries, but were by no means so in the Protestant ones*, where the spirit of Philosophy had made a much greater progress.¹⁸ —Weishaupt continued to shift his ground, and Knigge became more pressing in his demands.—The old Masons, famous for decyphering the hieroglyphics, asked for some which might answer to the enthusiasm with which he had inspired them. They threw out hints of abandoning him as an impostor who had deluded them with idle promises, unless he kept his word with them; and Illuminism must have been irreparably undone had so many Brethren

abandoned him under that persuasion. These perpetual solicitations at length forced Weishaupt's secret from him: "His letters (says Knigge) at length informed me, that this Order, professedly so ancient, had no other existence than in his own head, and in the *preparatory classes* he had established in the Catholic countries; but that he had a large quantity of excellent materials for the higher degrees. In making this avowal, he begged me to pardon his little finesse; for (said he) I have sought in vain after worthy co-operators; no person has ever entered so deeply into my views as you have; nor has any person seconded me with so much activity. He told me, that I was a man sent from Heaven to second him in his undertaking; that he threw himself upon my honor, and was willing to give me up all his papers; and that in future, not looking upon himself as my superior, he would be content to work under my direction; that the Brethren were expecting me in Bavaria, where all the necessary steps could be agreed upon, and that they were ready to pay my expences there."¹⁹

Had Weishaupt thought Knigge to be a man less to be depended upon, this would have been the only error we should have seen for this conspiring genius fall into. He must have been the only man on earth who could have looked upon his higher degrees and means of seduction as incomplete. The mysteries and the discourse for the degree of Epopt were finished; all that has been laid before the reader on this degree was already composed;²⁰ Knigge may have ornamented the impiety and disorganizing principles; but neither Knigge nor all the powers of hell could have added to them. The same may be said of the means of seduction. All the cunning of the *Insinulators* and *directing Illuminees* is to be found either in his first degrees, or in the instruction for the Provincials; his irresolution can only be attributed to the immensity of his powers for seduction, which no other person but himself could conceive. Hence he was led to suppose that what he had done was incomplete, because he thought he could do still better. In a word, had he sent his code as it was, Knigge would have profited of what had been completed, and would never even have surmised that he could have perfected it. Elated to a great degree at the idea of extricating from a difficulty a man whose plots and systems so perfectly coincided with his own, he hastened to his succour. He had soon run over all the papers that Weishaupt entrusted him with; made his appearance at the Council of the Areopagites; and in a few days got the better of all their irresolution with respect to the division of classes and degrees, and of the higher and lower mysteries. The chief point, and which in these circumstances acquired an immediate decision, was to know what rank should be given to the Freemasons in the Order, as a mode of facilitating the general intrusion into the Lodges. Knigge had already proved that they might entirely rely on him as to the number of Masonic brethren to be gained over to Illuminism; his vote carried the point, and the *Intermediary Class* of Masonry was irrevocably determined.

About this time the deputies of the Lodges flocked from all parts to Willemsbaden. It was an object of great importance for Weishaupt and his

Council, that no steps inimical to their views on Masonry should be taken at that assembly.—To obtain an account of all their proceedings, *Philo* had taken care to have *Minos* named a deputy. As to himself, he preferred being in the neighbourhood of the congress, there to watch its motions, and only to act by his agents. He had received full powers from Weishaupt and the Council of Areopagites to take such steps as circumstances might require.

The article which required the greatest expedition was, to complete the higher parts of the code, and to decide on what degrees were to be given to the Masons, who were too far advanced in the mysteries to be subjected to the trials of the Minerval School; and Knigge had speedily executed this first part of his mission. His active pen had soon made choice of its materials from Weishaupt's portfolio. According to his agreement with the Areopagites, he left all the preparatory degrees, such as *Novice*, *Minerval*, and *Minor Illuminee*, which had already been conferred on several of the adepts, in their primitive state. It had also been agreed, that the *first three degrees* of Masonry (now become the intermediary degrees of Illuminism) should not be touched. He united the *Major Illuminee* to the Scotch degrees. In the degree of *Epopt* and *Regent*, he condensed every seditious and impious principle, as well as every artifice that he could find in Weishaupt's works; and hence arose that astonishing code already investigated in the foregoing volume.

It was not long before Weishaupt again gave way to his irresolution; for he was always inventing some new art of seduction; but while he was deliberating Knigge was acting. The success of the second part of his mission, or his views on the Masons of Willemsbaden, entirely depending on the final determination of the mysteries for the degrees of *Epopt* and *Regent*, Weishaupt was pressed once more, and approving the whole, *he signed and sealed them with the grand seal of the Order*.

Knigge now had only to attend to his mission at Willemsbaden. We shall soon follow him to that Congress of Masonry; but we must first explain to our readers of what species of men this grand assembly was composed; and what the great agents were, that had already prepared the success and ensured the triumph of the new mysteries over those of Freemasonry.²¹

1. See the discourse of the Orator on the shutting up of a Lodge.

2. Original Writings, Vol. I, Let. 6, to *Ajax*.

3. See *Cato's Journal*, *Diarium des Cato*, Original Writings, Vol. I.

4. Ibid. Let. 31, 2 Dec. 1778.

5. Original Writings, Let. of the 6th Jan. 1779.

6. See Vol. III of these Memoirs, *Degree of Epopt*.

7. Ibid. Let. 32.

8. Let it be always remembered, that we continue to except the Masons who only acknowledge the first three degrees; but EVEN THESE ought never to forget, that it was precisely their first three degrees which served as a CLOAK to the grand intrusion of Illuminism.

9. The word *Abrac* is derived from *Abraxas*, which is only a set of Greek letters put together by BASILIDES, a famous Sophister of Alexandria, and an heresiarch of the second century, expressing the number of 365 *Intelligences* or spirits which constituted his God. St. Jerome says, that *Abraxas* was the fictitious God of *Basilides* expressed in Greek numerals A B P A E A Σ (1 2 100 1 60 1 200). Basilides grounded all his magic on the number of his genii; and hence the term *Science of Abrac* is used for the science of Magic (*Vide Hieronimus adversus Luciferum—Augustinus liber de haeresis—Tertullian de Basilide*). MANES adopted many of his errors from this Basilides, and particularly his *Eons* and his magic. These *mysteries of Abrac* are mentioned in the Masonic manuscript of Oxford, which bears testimony that some Brethren were as much addicted to these *mysteries of Abrac* three hundred years ago, as many of our modern Rosicrucians.
10. Original Writings, Let. 57, to *Cato*, March 1780.
11. See his Last Observations, P. 24.
12. See his Last Observations, P. 25.
13. See his Last Observations, P. 28.
14. See his Last Observations, P. 32.
15. Original Writings, first Statutes of the Illuminee, and Instructions for the Regent.
16. Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. 56, and Last Observations, P. 49.
17. Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 7.
18. Last Observations of *Philo*, from P. 35 to 55.
19. Last Observations of *Philo*, from P. 35 to 55.
20. See the original of this discourse in the Original Writings, Vol. II. Part II.
21. For the whole of this chapter, see the Last Observations of *Philo*, from P. 55 to 123; also his first Letter to *Cato*, Original Writings, Vol. II, and his convention with the Areopagites, *Ibid*.

CHAP. IV.

Congress of the Freemasons at Wilhemsbaden—Of their divers Sects, and particularly of that of the Theosophical Illuminees.

IT was by no means the deputies of an insignificant society that were flocking from all parts of the universe to Wilhemsbaden. At that period, many masons conceived their numbers to amount to *three millions* of brethren; and the *Lodge de la Candeur* at Paris, in its *Circular Letter of the 31st May, 1782*, supposes that France alone contained *one million*. Doctor Stark (one of the most learned writers of the Order) in his work on the ancient and modern mysteries, positively says, that at the lowest computation *the number of masons at that time must have amounted to one million*.¹ Let the historian abide by this estimate, let him be ever so partial, yet at the sight of these deputies sent by a *Secret Society* composed of at least a million of adepts, all flocking to their mysterious congress, what serious reflections must arise, and how important the consideration both to nations and their rulers!

What inconceivable motive is it then that draws forth these agents and deputies from all parts of the globe, from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, agents of men all bound by the oath of secrecy, both as to the nature of their association and the object of their mysteries? What intentions can actuate, what plans are brought by these deputies of so formidable an association secretly spreading its ramifications around us, throughout town and country, creeping into our habitations, and encompassing empires? What do they meditate, what are they going to combine either for or against nations? If they thus convene for the general good of humanity, and the welfare of nations, whence do they derive their right of deliberating on our religion, morals, or governments? Who has entrusted them with our interests? Who has subjected the world to their decrees and their pretended wisdom? Who has told them that we wish to act, to think, or to be governed according to their decisions and subterraneous machinations; or, in their language, according to their *industrious and secret influence*?

Should their plans be conspiracies, arising in a wish to change the nature of our worship and of our laws, insidious Brethren, perfidious citizens, by what right do you pretend to live among us as children of the same society, or subject to the same magistrates?

But should it neither be for nor against nations, should their only object be to draw more close the bonds of their fraternity, to propagate their benevolence, and their general love of mankind, then will I answer, Amuse the populace with such bubbles, *ad Populum Phaleras!* What! you that live on the banks of the Thames or of the Tagus, in the plains watered by the Tiber or the Vistula, are you to emigrate to the Rhine or to the Elbe, there in the dark abodes of Masonry to coalesce and deliberate with men whom you have never before seen nor will ever meet again? There is great occasion for you to go there to learn how to love and succour those with whom you daily cohabit! The Englishman, the Russian, or the American, is to go and bury himself in a German Lodge to learn how to be charitable at home!—The voice of nature and of the Gospel then is only to be heard within the secret recesses of Masonry? Or are we to be told, that men have braved the dangers of the Ocean and crossed whole empires to assist at a fraternal banquet, there to drink a toast given in a *zig-zag* or a *square*; or perhaps to chant some hymns sacred to innocent Equality; and that for these harmless amusements they should have chosen a den only worthy of the deepest conspirators! Let them find other pretences, or not wonder at being suspected of conspiring. Such language every citizen, every magistrate, every sovereign, was entitled to hold to these deputies flocking to Wilhemsbaden. Happy would it have been for Masonry had such language been held; for it might have saved the Brethren the eternal shame of having become the vile instruments and accomplices of Weishaupt.

Had any religious body, had even the Bishops of the church, held a general meeting, the civil power, without doubt, would have used its right of sending its commissaries to such a meeting, and they would have been instructed to watch, lest, under pretence of debating on ecclesiastical affairs, the rights of the state should be infringed. But all governments permitted the masons peaceably to proceed to the congress of Wilhemsbaden. The brethren even had passports from the civil powers. For more than six months did these deputies deliberate in their immense Lodge, without any sovereign harbouring the least suspicion as to his own safety, or that of his people. They all relied on those princes who were themselves initiated in the mysteries of Masonry; they were in all probability ignorant that *Brethren of that rank are but partially admitted to the secrets of the Sect*; nor were they aware, that great names are only cloaks under which secret societies often conspire against their very protectors. They had not conceived, that the *only means of escaping* the vengeance of such societies was TO TOLERATE NONE, not even those that are known to be innocent; for the conspirator, ever watchful, can have no more favorable opportunity of assuming the garb of innocence, than in these secret recesses, where sooner or later he will find means of involving the undesigning members in his criminal plots.

Sovereigns were equally ignorant of the state in which Masonry was at the time of the too famous meeting at Wilhemsbaden; had they but known it, the utmost severity might have become a duty on them. To judge by the

writings of the Sect, it never had been less disposed to a reform, which some it would seem wished to promote, and which Sir Andrew Michael Ramsay, a Scotch Baronet, had attempted to bring about forty years before; nor is it clear that the reform he had attempted was favourable to religion. In order to unite the efforts of the Brethren towards some useful object, he had conceived the plan of an Encyclopedia, which was to have been executed by all the learned Masons of the world.² If the posthumous works attributed to Ramsay are really his (such as *The Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion and of Revelation*, printed under his name in 1749, six years after his death) I could not venture to say, that he had not forgotten the greater part of those lessons which he had received from Fenelon, or that the Masonic Encyclopedia would have been a better work than that executed by the Sophisters D'Alembert and Diderot; neither would I vouch that any reform was intended even at that time in the ancient mysteries of the Lodges, other than the introduction of many anti-Christian errors, together with those of the Metempsychosis. But, whatever may have been the reform projected by Ramsay, every thing denoted that that which the Brethren were about to accomplish at Wilhemsbaden would be no other than the consummation of the mysteries or plots of the Rosicrucians. (*See Note at the end of the Chapter.*) In reality, these mysteries as well as those of the Scotch Knights had only been new modelled, the better to meet the wishes of the Sophisters, and of the impostors of the age. In France alone, under the successive protections of the Princes of Clermont, of Conti, and of the Duke of Orleans, all Grand Masters of the Order, the *Clermontois Brethren*, *The African Brethren*, the *Knights of the Eagle*, the *Adept*, the *Sublime Philosopher*, were so many national inventions added to Masonry; and all these degrees were steps towards our Revolution. In Germany we see *Rosa* combining all these French inventions with the ancient Scotch mysteries; the Baron *Hund* and *Shubard* subdividing Masonry into the *Strict Observance* and the *Lax Observance*. Under the name of *Templar Masons*, it daily beheld new degrees invented, more and more threatening to Kings and Pontiffs, who had suppressed the Templars. There also appeared the physician *Zinnendorf*, and with him were introduced the modern *Rosicrucians* from Sweden, and their new mysteries of the *Cabal*, while the impostor *Jaeger* was propagating his at Ratisbon.

There was not one of these new masonic Sects that did not revive some ancient system of impiety or rebellion. But the worst of the whole clan was a sort of *Illuminees* calling themselves *Theosophs*, whom I find continually confounded by some people with those of Weishaupt. They are certainly no better; but they are a different Sect. The necessity under which I lie to distinguish them, lest the historian should be misled, obliges me to trace them to their origin, and to give a short account of their mysteries.

All the *Theosophical Illuminees* of this age in England, France, Sweden, or Germany, have drawn their principles from the *Baron Emmanuel Swedenborg*. This name, to be sure, does not seem to denote the founder of a Sect. Swedenborg became one, perhaps, without dreaming of any such thing, and

through one of those extraordinary incidents which Providence in an age of impiety permits to humble the pride of our Sophisters. He was son of the Lutheran Bishop of Skara, and was born at Upsal in 1688. After having passed the greater part of his life in the most incongruous pursuits, as a Poet, a Philosopher, a Metaphysician, a Mineralogist, a Sailor, a Divine, and an Astronomer, he was attacked by one of those violent fevers, which leave the organs of the human frame in a very deranged state.³ His meditations, or rather reveries, took the form of those speculations to which he had formerly been addicted, on the Infinite, the Creation, the Spirit, Matter, God, and Nature. All on a sudden he thought himself inspired, and sent by God to reveal new truths. The following is the account he gives of his apostleship:

"I was one day dining very late at my hotel in London, and I ate with great appetite, when at the end of my repast I perceived a sort of fog which obstructed my view, and my floor was covered with hideous reptiles. They disappeared, the darkness was dispersed, and I plainly saw, in the midst of a bright light, a man sitting in the corner of my room, who said in a terrible voice, *Do not eat so much*. At these words my sight was bedimmed; but I regained it little by little, and then found that I was alone. The next night, the same man, resplendent with light, stood before me, and said: *I am the Lord, Creator, and Redeemer; I have chosen you to explain to men the interior and spiritual sense of the sacred Scriptures. I will dictate what you shall write*. This time I was not affrighted; and the light, though very vivid, did not affect my sight. The Lord was clothed in purple, and the vision continued for a quarter of an hour. This very night the eyes of my *interior* were opened and enabled to see into heaven, into the world of spirits, into hell, in which places I found many of my acquaintances, some who had long since been dead, others only a short time."⁴

This vision would appear more worthy of a man to whom one might say in a less terrible voice, *Do not eat so much*, but rather, indeed, *Do not drink so much*. Swedenborg declares it to have been in the year 1745. He lived till 1772, perpetually writing new volumes of his revelations, travelling every year from England to Sweden, and daily from earth to heaven or to hell. It requires exceeding great patience to wade through all these works; and when one has studied them, it is difficult to form an idea of their author. In this Theosophical Illuminee some will behold a man in a constant delirium; others will trace the Sophister and Infidel; while others again will take him for an impostor and a hypocrite. Is it the madman, the visionary madman in the regions of Folly, that is sought? Let the reader follow him in his frequent journeys to the world of spirits, or let him have the patience to hear him tell what he has seen. On one side he shows us a Paradise perfectly corresponding with the earth, and the angels doing every thing in the other world that men do in this. On the other, he describes heaven and its plains, its forests, its rivers, its towns, and its provinces; he then proceeds to the schools for the infant angels; to the universities for the learned angels; to fairs for the commercial angels, and particularly for the English and Dutch angels. The spirits are male and female; they marry, and Swedenborg was present at a marriage. This marriage is

celestial; "but," says he, "we are not to infer that celestial couples are unacquainted with voluptuousness. . . . The propensity to unite, imprinted by the Creator, exists in the *spiritual bodies*, as it does in the material bodies. The angels of both sexes are always in the most perfect state of beauty, youth, and vigor. They enjoy therefore the utmost voluptuousness of conjugal love, and that to a much greater degree than is possible for mortals."⁵

From this delirium let us proceed to the impostor. The whole life and writings of Swedenborg depose against him. To begin with his writings, it is always God or an angel that speaks. Every thing that he tells us, he has seen in heaven himself, and he is at liberty to go there as often as he pleases. He has spirits at his command; and they reveal to him the most secret transactions. The Princess Ulrica, Queen of Sweden, sends to consult him why her brother the Prince of Prussia had died without answering a certain letter which she had written to him. Swedenborg promises to consult the deceased. The following day he returns, and addresses himself as follows to the Queen: "Your brother appeared to me last night, and ordered me to inform you, that he had not answered your letter because your imprudent politics and your ambition were the causes of the effusion of blood. I command you therefore, in his name to meddle no more in state affairs, and particularly not any more to excite troubles to which you would, sooner or later, fall the victim." The Queen was astonished; Swedenborg told her things that she alone and the deceased could know; and the reputation of the prophet was much increased. For my readers to form their judgement, it will be sufficient for them to know that the letter the Queen had written had been intercepted by two senators, who profited of this occasion to give her the above lesson through the medium of Swedenborg.⁶

Take another trait of the Impostor:—The Countess of Mansfield is afraid of having to pay a sum of money a second time, the receipt being mislaid at her husband's death. She consults Swedenborg, and in the name of the deceased he comes to acquaint her where the receipt was to be found. He could very readily give the information to be sure, for he had found the receipt in a book which had been returned him by the Count.—It was the Queen Ulrica who gave this natural explanation of the fact; yet she is nevertheless quoted by the disciples as an authority to prove the miracle.⁷ Certainly we have shown enough of the impostor; but the important person for our consideration is the Illuminizing law-giver, the Sophister of Impiety; and Swedenborg's character partakes much more of this than is generally supposed. His manner would lead us to think that his hypocrisy was not inferior to his impiety.—Never did any man speak more of the love of God and of the love of his neighbour; never did any person more frequently quote the Prophets and the Scriptures; or affect more respect for Christ and more zeal for Christianity; never did any one better assume the character and tone of a sincere, religious, and upright man: Nevertheless, I must say, never did any man show more duplicity and impiety; never did any one conceal the most resolute design of annihilating Christianity and every Religion, under the

mask of zeal, more completely than he did. Let all his followers protest against this assertion; to expose the *two systems* of their master will amply suffice to justify the imputation. I say *two systems*, because as Swedenborg always had *two senses*, the one *internal* and *allegorical*, the other *external* or *literal*, to explain and overthrow the Scriptures; so he has also *two systems*, the one apparent, for fools and dupes; the other secret and hidden, and reserved for the adepts; the one tending only in appearance to reform Christianity on the reveries of Deism; the other leading to all the Impiety of Atheism, Spinosism, Fanaticism, and Materialism.

I lament with my readers that such is the nature of our revolutions, that to know and unfold their causes it is necessary to study manifold Sects and wade through disgusting systems. Few people are aware of the multitude of Antichristian, impious, and tenebrous factions that had overrun the earth to prepare the advent of our disasters. I myself for a long time despised these *Theosophical Illuminees*. But I found them at Wilhemsbaden; and the part they acted at first in concurrence with Weishaupt, and afterward in union with him, obliged me to investigate their Sect; and my reader must have a short and precise idea of each of their two systems. The first, which I call *apparent*, is compiled for men who still wish to preserve the words of God, Religion, Spirit, Heaven, and Hell; but who, swerving from Christianity, are abandoned by the Almighty to all the absurdities and follies of *Anthropomorphism*. For such persons Swedenborg has invented *two worlds*, the one *invisible and spiritual*, the other *visible and natural*. Each of these worlds has the *form of a man*; together they compound the universe, which has also the *form of a man*.

The spiritual world comprehends *Heaven; the world of spirits, and Hell*. This Heaven, World of Spirits, and Hell, are formed to the *Image of Man*, that is to say of God himself.

For God is also man; indeed it is only the Lord or God, that can be properly called man—This God man is *uncreated, infinite, present everywhere by his humanity*—Though God and Man at the same time, he is but of one nature, one essence, and particularly *but one in person*. It is true, there is a God the Father, a God the Son, and a God the Holy Ghost; but Jesus Christ alone is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as he manifests himself by the creation, redemption, or sanctification; and *the Trinity of persons in God*, according to Swedenborg, is *an Impiety which has produced many others*.

This doctrine against the Trinity is one of those articles to which the Sophister and his disciples most frequently advert, and particularly insist upon, even in their Catechisms for children.

Though we are to believe the existence of but one nature and of one person in this *God-Man, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, yet in each man we are to conceive two distinct men; the one *spiritual and interior*, the other *exterior and natural*. The *Man-spirit* or *interior*, has a *heart, lungs, feet and hands*, and all the different parts of the human frame, which belong to the *visible and exterior* man.⁸

There are also three distinct things in every man, *the body, the soul, and the spirit*. We are all acquainted with the body, and Swedenborg makes no change in it; but his *spirit* is that *interior man*, who has a *heart, lungs, and a spiritual body* entirely modelled on the natural body. But the *soul*, that is the man himself, *children receive from their father; the body is the envelope and is of the mother*.

Notwithstanding this body, this spirit, and this soul, *every thing than man thinks or that he wills is infused into him through the influence of Heaven or of Hell*. "He imagines that his thoughts are actually his own, and his volition in himself and from himself, while nevertheless the whole is infused into him. If he believed the real fact, he would not then appropriate evil actions to himself, for he would reject them from himself to Hell, whence they came. Neither would he appropriate to himself good actions, and for that reason would pretend to no merit from then. He would be happy; he would see, according to the Lord, the Good and the Evil;"⁹ or, in other words, he will find that he is master neither of his thoughts nor actions; that he is deprived of free-agency, and that he can neither merit nor demerit.

This poor being, who so grossly mistakes himself when he believes himself to be thinking or acting of himself, has also fallen into a multitude of other religious errors, because he does not rightly understand the sacred scriptures. In the Book of Revelation every thing is *allegorical*, every thing has two senses, the one *celestial, spiritual, interior*; the other *natural, exterior, literal*. It is from not having understood the spiritual and celestial sense that Christians have believed in the Son of God made Man, and in his death on the Cross for the Redemption of mankind. Swedenborg, one day present in Heaven at a great council, heard and repeats these words of an angel, who was a great divine: "How is it possible that the Christian world can abjure sound reason, and rave to such a degree as to establish the fundamental principles of their belief on paradoxes of such a nature, which evidently militate against the divine essence, the divine love, the divine wisdom, the omnipotence, and the universal presence of God? What he is supposed to have done, a good master would not have done against his servants, nor even a wild beast against its young!"¹⁰ The same angel told him many other things, which overturn all the remaining articles of the Christian belief. One point in particular he asserts, which must give pleasure to the wicked, when he teaches them to scoff at Hell, particularly when he says *that it is contrary to the divine essence to deprive a single man of his mercy; that the whole of those doctrines are contrary to the divine nature, which the Christian world does not seem to be aware of*.¹¹

Another part of the doctrine which must be also very acceptable to the wicked, is the state with which Swedenborg flatters them in the other world, and the time he gives them after death to gain Heaven. According to his new Gospel, the instant that man believes to be that of his death, is the moment of his resurrection; and no other resurrection is allowed of. At that very instant *he appears in the spiritual world under the human form*, exactly as if he was in this world; under *this form*, he becomes an angel, and no other angels exist but

those who become so at their departure from this world. All these angels inhabit the world of spirits, and are received there by other angels, who instruct them in the *spiritual sense* of the Scriptures. They are allowed till the age of thirty to learn this *sense*, and to repent in the world of spirits. But lest we should revert to the delirious Illuminee, let us hasten to that part of his doctrines which constitutes the grand hopes of his disciples on earth. After having expounded all the mysteries of Christianity according to his spiritual and allegorical sense, that is to say, after having substituted his doctrines to those of the Gospel, Swedenborg informs them, that the day will come when the whole of his doctrine shall be received in this world. This happy day will be that on which the *New Jerusalem* shall be re-established on earth. This New Jerusalem will be the reign of the new church, of Jesus Christ reigning alone over the earth, as he formerly did over our forefathers before the deluge. It will be the golden age of true Christianity; and then the revolution foretold by Swedenborg will be accomplished with his prophecies.

Such is that which I have denominated the *apparent system* of the Baron de Swedenborg. My readers may easily observe, that such tools in the hands of the adepts must suffice to eradicate true Christianity from the minds of their dupes, and to make their New Jerusalem a plea for those revolutions which, in order to recall ancient times, are, in the name of God and of his prophet, to overthrow all the altars and thrones existing under the present Jerusalem, that is to say, under the present churches and governments.

From the midst of this chaos of delirium, and these prophecies of rebellion, let us bring forth that other system, which appears to have been reserved to the profound adepts. It is that of Materialism and of the purest Atheism. This system is occult in Swedenborg's works, but it is wholly contained in them. Here we should no longer have to deal with the prophet in delirium, but with the most artful Sophister, were I not aware that such hypocrisy is not entirely incompatible with a disordered mind. I will explain: it sometimes happens, that the minds of men will rave on certain questions, though perfectly sensible and reasonable on others. There are also madmen who will constantly pursue their object; their principles may be extravagant, but they never lose sight of their consequences. They will even reason on them, and combine them with all the art of the most subtle Sophister. I think it is in this class that Swedenborg is to be ranked; I believe it, because not only his writings, but many circumstances in his life, serve to confirm the conjecture. For example: at Stockholm, after having made a general officer (who came to pay him a visit from Mr. Euler, the Prince of Orange's librarian) wait in his antichamber for a considerable time, he at length came to him and made his excuses, by saying, Indeed, General, just at that moment St. Peter and St. Paul were with me; and you easily apprehend, that when one receives such visitors one is in no hurry to dismiss them.—My readers must as easily conceive the opinion the General formed of the Baron, and the account he gave of him to Euler.

At another time, on a journey from Stockholm to Berlin, one of his companions, awakened by a noise which Swedenborg was making, and thinking he was ill, went into his room. He there found him in bed, fast asleep, very much agitated, and in a great heat, repeating in a loud voice the questions and answers of a conversation which he dreamt he was holding with the Virgin Mary. The next day his fellow-traveller asked the Baron how he had slept the night before; he answered, "I had yesterday asked a favour of the Virgin Mary in the most pressing manner; she paid me a visit this night, and I had a long conversation with her."

The first of these facts will be vouched for by Mr. Euler; and with respect to the second I think it is as well founded.

We will now show how these anecdotes are blended with the history of a Sect that has powerfully contributed towards the Revolution.

Swedenborg, anterior to the derangement of his mind, had formed a system leading to Materialism; and this continued deeply rooted in his mind after his illness. He then added his male and female spirits, and some extravagances of the same nature. With respect to the remainder of his system, he follows up his principles in a consequent manner, and unfortunately the whole tends to Materialism. Sophisters and infidels, no doubt, soon perceived that they could make a tool of this unfortunate man; they set him up as a Prophet, and his reveries were opposed to the truths of Christianity. Let us for a moment attend to his most zealous and artful apostles. It is thus that they speak of his first works, in order to captivate the reader's mind in favour of his subsequent writings: "According to the discoveries made by the Baron de Swedenborg, every human body consists of several orders, of forms distinct among themselves, according to the apparent degree of purity respectively belonging to each; that is to say, in the inferior degree is to be found the basis or receptacle of the second degree, which is more pure and more *interior* than the first. In the same manner, the second serves as the basis or receptacle for the third, which is more elevated, and is the purest and most *interior* of the three. It is in the latter that resides the *human spirits, which is an organized form ANIMA, corresponding with the corporal spirit ANIMUS*, and vivifying it, while it derives its own life directly from the spiritual world."¹²

After having seen this famous discovery of the master, and on which the disciples lay so much stress, let us inquire what the true significations of or real expressions appropriate to this *human spirit* or *organized form*, which Swedenborg calls the *soul*; or to this *corporal spirit* denominated *animus*. This *soul* and this *spirit* will be found to be no other than organized matter, one of those *bodies* which is called the *germ*, and which are as much matter, both in the animal or vegetable reign, as the body, the branch, or the fruits they produce. It is easy then to conceive what Swedenborg means by *form* or *soul*, or by that *spirit* which has lungs, feet, and all the different parts of the human body. The soul is *organized matter*, and the spirit is *living matter*. Terms may be changed, but in fact nothing is to be found but matter, and a monster of hypocrisy, who, after the example of the soul, will reduce his God to matter also. To

prove this assertion, let the following proposition be noticed—*God is life, because God is love—Love is his essence, wisdom his existence—The heat of the spiritual Sun is love, its light is wisdom.*¹³ What a deal of twisting and turning to say, that God is no more than the heat and light of a *Sun* supposed to be *spiritual*; for if God is *love and wisdom*, and that this *love and wisdom* are only the *heat and light* of this *Sun*, is it not evident that God is nothing more than the heat and light of the *Sun*. When, therefore, the reader shall, in Swedenborg's works, meet with expressions such as these, *God is life, because God is love, and he alone is life*, he will naturally substitute *God is life because he is heat; he alone is life because life is only supported by heat*; and he will have Swedenborg's real meaning. This might still leave some idea of a spirituality, if this *sun*, whose light and heat are God, was really spiritual; but for the solution of this question let us again appeal to Swedenborg, and we shall find that the *spiritual sun* is nothing more than *atmospheres, receptacles of fire and of light, the extremity of which produces the natural sun*. This also has its *atmospheres, which have produced by three degrees material substances*.—*These same atmospheres of the natural sun, decreasing in activity and in expansion, ultimately form masses whose parts are brought together by the pression of weighty substances that are fixed and at rest, and which we call matter.*¹⁴ In clearer and more intelligible language, here will be the Deity and its generations according to Swedenborg. In the first place, a *Sun*, supposed spiritual, forms itself in the higher regions of the most ardent and luminous fire: the heat and light of this fire is God. This God, in this state, as well as this *Sun*, is nothing more than matter in a state of expansion, agitation, fire, and incandescence. As long as matter remains in these burning regions, Swedenborg does not chuse to call it matter, but the *spiritual sun*. Particles less subtle, or not so much heated, are carried to the extremity of these regions. There they cluster together, and the *natural sun* is formed. They are not matter as yet; but the grosser particles of this second sun unite together at the extremity of its atmospheres; there they clump together, cool, thicken, and form heavy masses, and at length acquire the appellation of matter. These particles are no longer God, or the spiritual sun, because they are no longer in a state of fire. What then is this God of Swedenborg, if it is not fire, or all matter in a state of fire, ceasing only to be God, when it ceases to be burning and luminous? And what abominable hypocrisy is this, where, under the cloak of thus changing the terms, the most downright materialism is preached?

Let my reader form what opinion he pleases as to the man who has broached such impious absurdities; he must never forget that there exist men always ready to adopt the most extravagant errors. Some because they are unable to distinguish a sophism, others because their impiety leads them to rejoice at every new blasphemy. Swedenborg has met with disciples of both these descriptions; and hence arose two distinct Sects, the one public, the other occult. The first comprehends those men so easily imposed upon by hypocrisy, and by their own credulity; they had called themselves Christians and adored Jesus Christ; but when Swedenborg had called his God *heat and light*; or his *spiritual sun* by the name of Jesus Christ, they still continued to

think themselves the followers of Christ, though they were only the Sectators of Swedenborg's reveries. He evidently is the declared enemy of the principal mysteries of revelation, particularly of the Trinity, and of the Redemption of mankind by the Son of God dying on a cross for the salvation of sinners; he nevertheless talks a great deal about revelation; he assumes a devout tone, and with his *allegorical* and *spiritual sense* would appear rather to reform than to destroy all; and his followers do not perceive that with his allegorical sense he is only repeating the arguments of the Sophisters against revealed religion, in order to renew all the follies and impieties of the Persians, Magi, and Materialists.¹⁵ They tell these poor people of his miraculous visions, of his prophecies, and of his discoursing with the angels and spirits; they are ignorant of the first principles of criticism, and believe in all these marvelous stories of Swedenborg, just as children do in the history of Raw-head-and-bloody bones told them by an old nurse.

The new *Jerusalem* in particular has gained over many proselytes to Swedenborg. I observe in one of the most famous abridgements of his works, that so early as the year 1788, *the single town of Manchester contained SEVEN THOUSAND of these illuminized Jerusalemites, and that there were about TWENTY THOUSAND in England.*¹⁶ Many of these beatified beings may be very well intentioned; but with this new Jerusalem they daily expect that great revolution which is to sweep from the earth every prince and every king, that the God of Swedenborg may reign uncontrolled over the whole globe.¹⁷ And that revolution, which they saw bursting forth in France, was nothing more in their eyes than the fire that was to purify the earth to prepare the way for their Jerusalem. Should they still remain in the dark as to the menacing tendency of such doctrines for every state, let them learn it from the revolutionary Sophisters. They have publicly declared the hopes they have conceived of those *Sects that are springing up on all sides, particularly in the north of Europe (Sweden) and in America.* They even in plain terms express their expectations grounded on the *great number of Swedenborg's sectators and commentators.*¹⁸

And indeed if we do but cast our eyes on those that are most admired by the Sect, we shall find all the grand principles of the revolutionary Equality and Liberty, and those Jacobinical declamations against the Great, the Noble, and the Rich, and against all governments. We shall find, for example, that their *Religion*, or their new Jerusalem, *cannot be welcomed by the Great, because the Great are born transgressors of its first precept.* Neither can it be approved by the Nobles, because *when mortals aspired at nobility, they became proud and wicked.* Still less can it be admired by those who do not delight in the confusion of ranks, because *the pride of ranks produced inhumanity and even ferocity;* and even long before the revolution we shall see the adepts inculcating that grand principle of anarchy and revolution, that *the law is the expression of the general will,* and thus preparing the people to disregard every law that had been made heretofore, either by their sovereigns, their parliaments, or their senates;

encouraging them to sound the alarm, to overthrow them all, and to substitute the decrees and capricious conceits of the populace in their stead.

But all this revolutionary concatenation as yet only characterizes *the dupes* of the Sect of Illuminizing Jerusalemites. The profound adepts had taken refuge in the dens of the *Rosicrucian masonry*. Those were their natural asylums, the greater part of their tenets perfectly coinciding with those of the ancient Rosicrucians. After the example of their Doctors, Swedenborg tells us, that his doctrines are all of the highest antiquity, and similar to those of the Egyptians, the Magi, and the Greeks; he even asserts them to be anterior to the deluge. His new Jerusalem has also its JEHOVA, its *lost word*, that has been at length revealed to Swedenborg. Should any person be tempted to seek it elsewhere, he must go in quest of it among those clans where Christianity and political laws are not known.¹⁹ Swedenborg tells us that it might be found in the north of China and in Great Tartary, that is to say, among that species of men who have preserved the most of that Equality, Liberty, and Independence, which the *learned* Jacobins pretend to have been anterior to civil society, and which most certainly is incompatible with it. Here then it appears, that Swedenborg's views coincide with those of the occult lodges, aiming at the overthrow of every religious and civil law, and at the downfall of every throne. His God *heat and light*, his God fire and spiritual sun, his twofold world and twofold man, are only modifications of the God light and the twofold principles of Manes. The Rosicrucians must then have found in Swedenborg's systems what they so much admired in the Manichæans. Their Magic, Evocations, *Eons*, Cabal, &c. were to be traced in the male and female spirits. In short, what numberless adepts must not this *new Jerusalem*, or revolution, carrying man back to primitive Equality and Liberty, have found in the occult Lodges? It was there indeed that Swedenborg's mysteries become connected with those of the ancient Brethren. These new or compound adepts styled themselves *Illuminees*. Notwithstanding the Atheism and Materialism of their master, they, after his example, perpetually talked of God and of spirits; they even affected to speak much of God, and people were persuaded that they believed in a Deity; hence they received the denomination of *Theosophical Illuminees*. Like the writings of their founder, their history is a mere labyrinth of impiety and imposture. It will suffice for our readers, at this period, to know that their head quarters was at Avignon;²⁰ that they had a famous lodge at Lyons; that they were spreading chiefly in Sweden, and were making progress in Germany. Their mysteries at that time had mingled with those of the Martinists; or it might be more correct to say, that the Martinists were only a reform of the Swedenborgians; and in France the appellations of Illuminee and Martinist were synonymous. In Germany they began to distinguish themselves under the names of *Philaletes* and *Benevolent Knights*. But whatever may have been their assumed names, they most certainly of all the modern Masons were the nearest of kin to Weishaupt. Systems and means may have differed sufficiently to excite jealousies; but on both sides we find the same determined wish for a revolution as antisocial as it was antireligious.

They were equally ardent in their desire of multiplying their adepts by a general intrusion into the Masonic Lodges. Both Sects had their deputies at Wilhelmsbaden, and I will describe their mutual contests and successes in the following Chapter.

Note to CHAP. IV. *vide* Page 118 [p. 630, Ed.]

I think it incumbent on me in this place to mention the observations which I have heard and the strictures that I have received from divers Masons on what has been said of their degrees in the second Volume of these Memoirs. According to some of the Brethren, *I have said a great deal too much*; according to others, *I have not said enough*. The reader will easily conceive, that the former consists of those Brethren in whose favour an exception has been made, as too honest and upright to be admitted to the higher mysteries; and that the latter are men who, after having been admitted into the occult Lodges, blush to think that they could ever have deserved such an admission. Both are entitled to my thanks; I also owe them an answer; more particularly those German observers, who have been kind enough to send me some very important discussions on Masonry, and whose learning can only be equalled by their politeness. They are persons of too accurate understandings not to perceive that their negative testimony must naturally vanish before the positive evidence of those who confess the whole. A very ancient Mason, speaking of a particular Lodge of which he had been a member, told me, "He was perfectly aware, that several Masons, respectable for the purity both of their religious and political principles, and of their general conduct, had often attended a certain Lodge; but that *he also knew what precautions were taken when they were present*; and farther he could assert, that the generality of the Brethren belonging to that Lodge had been the most ardent promoters of the Revolution. Some of them had held high stations in it, and one of them had become minister." These *precautions taken* are more than a sufficient answer to those who have not seen any thing improper, though admitted to the Lodges.

In the second place, my German observers, though they wish to justify the institution and views of Free-masonry, candidly confess, *that Masonry has been corrupted for more than these three hundred years past*; and this is more than sufficient to prove the intrigues to which it has been subservient.

The principal objection made by these gentlemen is, that I have confounded Freemasonry, which has but three degrees, with the new and ancient Rosicrucians, and other degrees of modern creation. My answer is, that if *ALL Masons* are not *Rosicrucians*, *ALL Rosicrucians* are *Masons*; that I have made the proper exceptions for the first three degrees; but that will not hinder these first degrees from being, as they really have been for this long time, a noviciate for the Rosicrucian degrees. I will not dispute upon terms; let any person give me a name by which I may call this body of *Apprentices, Fellow-crafts, Masters, and Rosicrucians*, and I will with pleasure admit it; but till that be done I must speak such a language as my readers can understand. In short, I know that Masonry formerly existed without Rosicrucians; but I should be glad to see it proved, that those occult mysteries now removed to the Rosicrucian degrees did not belong to the first three degrees. I think I could prove that they did; and the inference would be, that Masonry at no time could have been free from those dangerous mysteries or real plots. At present it suffices for my object, to have proved what the Masonry of the present day is; and that it most certainly demonstrated by the very nature and the authentic documents of its higher degrees. To the proofs already adduced I am now enabled to add (if I chose it) memorials, letters, and formal declarations of repenting Masons, certainly not men whose testimony could be questioned. One of these is a worthy magistrate, who, admitted a Free-mason about the

year 1761, had passed a great part of his life in the dark recesses of Masonry. The other is a military man, at present as zealous for his religion as he formerly was for the mysteries of Masonry. The first declares, that what I have said of Masonry is true, but that I have not said *all*. The latter writes me word, that I have rather *softened* than exaggerated the occult degrees. In fact, the former gives me a clearer insight into the three *Rosicrucian* degrees; the first is entirely *Christian*; the second is denominated the *Founders*, or the *Cabal*; the third is that of the *Natural Religion*. The particular object of this third degree was, 1st, to avenge the Templars, 2dly, to seize on the island of Malta, and to make it the *1st seat of natural religion*. He told me indeed things scarcely to be credited. For example, and these are his words, "That about the end of the year 1773, or in the course of 1774, the Lodge of which he was Master received a letter from the *Grand Orient*, purporting to be a copy of a letter which it had received from the King of Prussia. It was only to be communicated to the *Knights of Palestine*, the *Knights Kadosh*, and the *Scotch Directory*. This letter was transmitted to us by the *corresponding Lodge*; and though it had already been read in several Lodges, it only contained three signatures. It exhorted us, *in order to fulfil the oath we had taken*, to sign an obligation to march at the first requisition, and to contribute both by our *persons and our moral and physical powers*, to the conquest of the island of Malta, and of all the former possessions situated in the two hemispheres which had formerly belonged to the *ancestors of the Masonic Order*. The object of our establishment at Malta was the possibility of converting that island into the seat of natural religion." I objected to the author of this memorial, that if I wrote this account nobody would believe me. Let people believe, or not, as they please, he answered, *I both saw and received the letter*; my Lodge, however, refused to sign it.—I also say, let it be believed or not, I have the memorial and can attest, that the author is a man much and deservedly esteemed by all who know him.

The second Observer, who is also a repenting Mason, informs me, 1st, That in the hypothesis I had advanced on the origin of Masonry, I had only copied one of the Masonic Traditions, which taught that *Manes* was the real founder of Masonry. 2dly, That, "in the Lodges of the *Knights Kadosh*, after all the oaths, ceremonies, and trials, more or less terrible, wicked and impious, three Manikins are shown to the Candidate, representing *Clement V*, *Philippe Le Bel*, and the *Grand Master of Malta*, each attired in the attributes of their dignities. The unhappy fanatic is here to swear eternal hatred and death to these three proscribed persons, *entailing that hatred and death on their successors in their default*. He there strikes off the three heads, which, as in the degree of *Elect*, are real when they can be procured, or filled with blood if fictitious. He does this, crying out *vengeance, vengeance! &c.*" It is evident that I had softened the barbarity of this degree, for I had spoken but of one head to be struck off, when in reality there are three. I am not at liberty to name these two Memorialists; but two other witnesses I may name. The first is the Count de Gilliers, who living on intimate terms with great and profound Masons, had so well laughed them out of their secrets, that he gained admission into the Lodges without undergoing any trials; and he makes no difficulty in saying, that he has been an eye-witness to three-fourths of what I have said. The other, the Count D'Orfeuille, gives me leave to say, that though he was for a long time the Master of a Lodge, he can observe but slight differences between the *Rosicrucian* degrees which he has given and seen taken, and those which I have described.

I am at present in possession of twenty original Masonic degrees; and of four accounts of the *Rosicrucian* degrees, two in manuscript and two printed. The first was sent me from Germany, the second from America, the third was printed in France, and the fourth in England. They differ considerably from each other; but all of them coincide in about fifteen lines, precisely the most impious, those which contain the Masonic explanation of INRI. The account which I followed in my second volume was that published by the *Abbé Le Franc* in his *Voile Levé*, and his *Conjuration découverte*. Several Masons had informed me, that he had accurately delineated the proceedings of the Lodges; but I am now able to say

whence he had procured those Masonic degrees whose ceremonies he had so well described; and I learned in the following manner: One of those respectable Ecclesiastics who have found a retreat in the generosity of the English nation from the persecutions of his countrymen, and who to the greatest simplicity of manners joins the knowledge and practice of his duties, Mr. De La Haye, Curate of Fié in the diocese of Mans, hearing that I was writing on Free-masonry, was kind enough, before he had seen my work, to send me some Memoirs that he had written on the same subject. When he came to ask me my opinion on them, I told him, "that, allowing for difference of style, his work had long since been printed, and the Jacobins in return had massacred the Author at the Carmes on the famous second of September." I then showed him the Abbé Le Franc's work, who had added but little to his, and both had fallen into the same error in attributing the origin of Masonry to Socinus. This worthy ecclesiastic answered me, "That he had been perfectly unacquainted with the existence of the Abbé Le Franc's work, but that he could easily account for its coincidence with his. I had, said he, several Free-masons in my parish. In my neighbourhood in particular was that unfortunate Fessier, a famous Brother of the Lodge at Alençon, since become such a terrible Jacobin, and the intruded Bishop of Séez. Several of these Masons renounced their errors; and, as a proof of their total renunciation of the Lodges, they gave me up all their papers and Masonic degrees. I had made a digest of these degrees. Mr. Le Franc, who was at that period in our diocese, pressed me to publish them; but I did not dare do that, for fear of the Masons, and I rather chose to give a copy of the whole to Mr. Le Franc, requesting him to use it as he thought fit. Mr. Le Franc went to Paris; the Revolution took place; and he doubtless thought it would be useful to publish the work I had given him, having first improved it by the polish of his style; and he certainly has done it better than I could. If his work has done any good, I am happy that he published it; but I am very sorry to reflect that it caused his death."—This latter sentiment, and the fear lest I should suspect the Abbé Le Franc of a breach of confidence, seemed solely to occupy this worthy man's mind. I could not help praising M. Le Franc for having had more courage in publishing the work than he had had; and he had besides given it the style of a Man of Letters. The point, however, most interesting for our object is, to find in this anecdote a new proof of the authenticity of the degrees published by the Abbé Le Franc, which I had quoted with so much confidence. The testimony of repenting Masons is far more to be relied on than the assertions of those who continue to be dupes or persist in their errors.—I address this note to those readers who may still entertain any doubt of the authenticity of the degrees as I have published them. I also declare to the adepts, that nothing would give me greater satisfaction than to see an answer founded, not on nonsense and scurrilous abuse, but on good reasoning. I am perfectly aware, that a very excellent work on Masonry might be made. Their Letters and my Answers, with other materials that I have by me, may, perhaps, at some future time, furnish the subject for such a work.

1. Chap. 15.

2. See *Der aufgezogene Vorhang der Frey Maurery*, P. 302.

3. I do not see that any of his adepts have mentioned this illness; but indeed I am not surprised at it. I quote it on the authority of a Physician, who learned it from several other Physicians of London.

4. See the Preface to the Abridgement of Swedenborg's Works.

5. Swedenborg on the celestial Jerusalem—of the spiritual world—of the English—of the Dutch, &c.—Art. Heaven.

6. See Mr. Rollig's letter in the *Monat Schrift* of Berlin, January, 1788. When the disciples of Swedenborg saw Mr. Rollig's letter appear, they gave a new turn to the story. It was no longer the Queen questioning Swedenborg about the letter; she simply asked, *Whether he had seen her brother?* Swedenborg is said at the end of a week to return to the Queen, and tell her things that she believed herself to be alone conversant with, after the decease of the Prince. This contrivance gives a whole week in place of a day to prepare the trick. I now learn a third; according to Dr. Mainauduc, the letter was scarcely written when Swedenborg, without even seeing it, divines the object and dictates the answer before hand. When this scheme is exploded, it is to be hoped that the brethren will invent another.
7. Preface to the Abridgement of Swedenborg's Works—the Edition of them by Perneti—Essay on the Illuminees, written by Mirabeau, Note 8.
8. Every thing that is said here of this system is extracted either from the Works of Swedenborg, which I have in my possession, such as his *Doctrine of the New Jerusalem*, his *Spiritual World*, his *Apocalypse Revealed*; or from divers abridgements of his Works in French and English, made by his disciples.
9. Extract from the New Jerusalem and from the Arcana, *Art. INFLUENCE*, No. 277.
10. See Abridgment of Swedenborg, *Art. REDEMPTION*.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Dialogues on the nature, the object, and evidence of Swedenborg's theological writings, London 1790, Page 24 and 25.—Also the Animal Reign, and the Oeconomy of the Animal Reign, by Swedenborg.
13. See the Abridgement of Swedenborg, *Art. GOD*.
14. *Ibid. Art. CREATION*.
15. Some readers, I know, will be surprised to see me charge with materialism a man who talks so much of the spirit, soul, God, and religion. But I must request them to weigh the proofs adduced before they decide against me. Had I been writing another sort of work I might have prolonged the discussion; but I think I have said sufficient to prove, that Swedenborg never acknowledged any other spirit but matter, or the elementary fire.
16. *Ibid.* Preface in a note, Page lxxviii.
17. See his *Apocalypse Revealed*.
18. Preface to the *Physical Observations*, an. 1790, by La Metherie.
19. Swedenborg's expressions are, *De hoc verbo vetusto quod ante verbum Israeliticum in Asia fuerat, referre meretur hoc novum; quod ibi adhuc reservatum sit, apud populos qui in Magna Tartaria habitant. Locutus sum cum spiritibus et angelis qui in mundo spirituali inde erant, qui dixerunt quod possideant verbum, et quod id ab antiquis temporibus possederint—Querite de eo in China et forte invenietis illud apud Tartaros. Apocalipsis Revelata, Chap. I. No. II.*) Is not this a continuation of that same plan, always holding out nations plunged in the most savage ignorance, and a perpetual prey to anarchy, Equality and Liberty, as the models to which we ought to look up?
20. In a work under the title of *The Red Lodge discovered to Sovereigns*, I read, that "the Rite of the Theosophical Illuminees appears to have taken its origin at Edinburgh, where the Red Lodge was formed by a scission from the Blue Lodge; that this Red Lodge (of the Theosophical Illuminees) had immediately established a subordinate Lodge at Avignon." (page 9 and 10).—I should have been very glad to have found proof of this

origin, as at present it rests on the bare assertion of the author. Be that as it may, however, the Illuminees of Avignon are sufficiently well known in France. Ever since the year 1783, that Lodge has been looked upon as the parent stock of all those that have since spread over France with their abominable mysteries.

And here I think it right to say, that this *Red Lodge discovered to Sovereigns* is by no means the work that I mentioned in my second volume under the title of *Depositions made by Kleiner*. The extracts made from this latter work, and which are in my possession, give me reason to think, that it contains details of a very different nature. The author there speaks as an eye-witness; and, among other things, gives the tradition current in his Lodge, with respect to the lessons that Weishaupt is supposed to have received from a certain Kölmer. These depositions would be a valuable document; and it is perhaps on that very account that the Illuminees have destroyed it. At least I am obliged to say, that, notwithstanding the numerous inquiries which I have made, I have not been able to procure it.

CHAP. V.

*Knigge's Intrigues and Successes at the Congress.—
Official Reports of the Superiors of the Order.—
Multitude of Masons illuminized at this Period.*

OF all the general assemblies that had been held by the Masons for these last twenty years, whether at Brunswick, Wisbaden, or in any other town in Germany, none could be compared with that of Wilhelmsbaden, either for the number of the deputies or the variety of Sects of which it was composed. One might say, that all the incoherent elements of Masonry had been thrust into one den. Knigge informs us, that he had had the honour of being deputed by his ancient brethren; that he might have taken his seat and been present at the deliberations; but, foreseeing the issue of it, he thought he could more usefully serve the cause of his new Illuminism by directing the part that *Minos-Dittfurt* was to act in the interior of the Meeting, while he himself would hover around and observe the exterior. His first plan of attack was to gain the *Templar Masons of the Strict Observance*, with whose secrets he was well acquainted, and he had frequently attended their Lodges, that he might through their means ensure a majority of votes. Had he succeeded in this plan, Weishaupt's code would have been decreed at this general congress, and would have become at once the standard law for millions of Masons scattered throughout the globe, who would thus have been illuminized and ready to sally forth from their lurking places at the Command of their Antisocial Chief.

When describing this plan of attack, Knigge takes care to inform his readers why he abandoned it:—"I own (says he) that I always retained a certain predilection for my former brethren of the *Strict Observance*; I had already illuminized so great a number, that I was in hopes of uniting their system with ours. My intention most certainly could never be to deliver up to the Congress all our papers, and thus to put ourselves at the mercy of the deputies. I had not received such powers from those who sent me. *And beside, we, who did not seek after that power that gives greatness, rank, or riches; we, who did not seek to reign in splendour and in the eyes of the public; we, in short, whose constitution was to act in silence and with secrecy;* how could we go and make ourselves dependent on an Order so destitute of unity in its systems.

"I made, however, an offer of my services; I made it both in writing and by word of mouth; and all the answer I received was, that I might send or

present my papers to the congress, and that they would judge of those parts that were to be approved or rejected."¹

Stung to the quick at such contempt, Knigge conceived himself absolved from all his oaths, and from every duty toward his ancient brethren. Abandoning all hopes of conquering the whole body, *he resolved to attack them one by one, and then to gain over the whole body Lodge by Lodge.* He agreed with the assessor *Minos* to direct their whole attention in future towards two points; the first, to hinder the assembly from passing any resolutions detrimental to the interests of their Illuminism; the other, to facilitate its intrusion into the Lodges, and that with so much art that no degree, nor any Grand Master, could be an obstacle to the domination of the Bavarian Brethren; and that means should be found sooner or later to unite the code of the Illuminees with that of the Masons.—Such was the object of the mission entrusted by Knigge to his co-adept *Minos*, whom he charged to get the following resolutions passed: "1st. A sort of union of all the Masonic systems in the first three degrees, so that a Mason admitted to these three degrees should be acknowledged as a true brother of every Lodge of whatever class or system it might be.—2dly, That in common Masonry no mention should ever be made of the higher degrees or of the unknown Superiors.—3dly, That all transmitting of money to the Masonic Superiors should be forbidden.—4thly, That a new code should be prepared for the brethren.—5thly, That every Lodge should choose its own Superiors and Directory, that is to say, should declare to which Grand Lodge they chose theirs should be subject."²

While *Minos* was thus following his instructions within, Knigge was without acting the part of Insinuator and Scrutator. "I sought to know (says he in the same report to the Areopagites) and I knew what turn things were taking in the assembly. I knew all the different systems that different parties wished to make predominate; I then entered into a correspondence, which I still continue, with the Chiefs of Zinnendorf's party.³ I also sounded the Chiefs of other parties by various means. Several came of themselves and disclosed themselves to me, entrusting me with all their secrets because they knew that I was solely actuated by a wish for the general good, and not by personal considerations. In short, some of the deputies learned (*I know not now*) that our Illuminism was in existence. They *almost all* came to me to entreat me to admit them;—I thought it proper to exact the *reversal letters* (of our candidates) from them, commanding them to keep absolute silence on the subject; but I took care not to entrust them with the least part of our secrets. I only spoke to them of our mysteries in general terms, during the whole time that the congress continued."⁴

This method of proceeding, and the art with which he insinuated that Masonry, undoubtedly, was in possession of mysteries of the highest importance; but that the profound Masons, who were in possession of such mysteries, were not to be met with at the congress, greatly augmented the curiosity and stimulated the ardour of the deputies for his Illuminism. The care with which he took the *reversal letters*, the character of candidate, the promise

he exacted at the same time of all the deputies not to second any proposition detrimental to the new brotherhood, were sufficient to ensure him against any resolutions that might be entered into by the meeting. Beside, the dispositions he observed in these deputies were sufficient to strengthen his hopes. "I owe them the justice to say," he continues in his report, "that I found *the greatest part of them in the best dispositions*; that if their conduct was not effective it was for want of having been nurtured in a better school⁵.... It was with pleasure I observed, that if the *excellent intentions* that had brought these men together from all corners of Masonry, were not more efficacious, it was because they could not agree on principles. *Most of them* appeared to be ready to follow any system that they judged conducive to give to their Order that utility and activity that was the object of all their wishes."⁶

Whatever may be the partiality of the historian for the Masonic Brotherhood, it will be impossible for him to invalidate this terrible evidence of Knigge against their chosen and privileged members; against those whom the Order judged most worthy of representing it in solemn congress. No man can misconceive the signification of *best dispositions* or of *excellent intentions* in the mouth of Philo-Knigge. They evidently demonstrate men who needed only to be made acquainted with the means of working a revolution of impiety and anarchy, to undertake it. This vast Brotherhood of Masons must, at this period at least, have been sorely affected in its higher mysteries. It was prepared for conspirators even of Weishaupt's stamp.

Certain of success, Knigge seems to have left the assembly to its disorderly deliberations; and, notwithstanding the imprudence with which he taxes *Minos*, the latter succeeded in obtaining the decree of the principal particulars agreed between them. It was forbidden that any brethren should call each other Heretics (*Verketzern*). It was decided that the first three degrees alone should be looked upon as essential to Masonry. Commissaries were named to digest certain regulations, the plan of which had been given by the assembly, as well as of a general code. The choice of the higher degrees and of systems was left to the decisions of each Lodge. The rest of the deliberations were as boisterous as might be expected from the variety of Sects. I have before me a manuscript account of this assembly written by a very learned Mason, and it contains nearly as much lamentation as it does instruction. Among other things I find, that the Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick was proclaimed Grand Master of all Masonry and that few members recognized him as such. Again I see, that it was wished to abrogate the system of the *Templar Masons*, whose abominations and secrets had been exposed by some false brother in a work called *The Stone of Scandal*, but that few Lodges would obey the abrogation. Moreover, an attempt was made to quash all Sects and Schisms; but they neither could be overpowered, and confusion continued to prevail with redoubled force.

Let us however observe, that if any system can be said to have gained a preponderance it was that of the *Philaletes*, a sort of spurious offspring of Swedenborg. The most famous Illuminees of that set, *Wilhermoz*, *St. Martin*,

and *La Chappe de la Henriere*, had made an attempt to connect themselves with the Hero of Crevelt and Minden; it is even asserted, that he was misled by their appellation of *Philaletes* and of *Benevolent Knights*. Strong, however, in his protection, neither they nor their agents spared any pains to carry the day at Wilhemsbaden; they were well supported, and victory must have infallibly declared in their favor had not Knigge already gained over so many of the deputies. Hence the result of this too famous congress was to have been the delivery over of all the Masonic Lodges, and, with them, of all the governments of Europe, to two Sects of Illuminees, the most impious and the most disastrous in their views, and most unrelenting in their zeal for the overthrow of every religion and of every government whatever.

I know not into which of these two Sects the Count de Virieux had been initiated; but either might have suggested the manner in which he described the result of this Masonic Congress. On his return to Paris, being complimented by the Count de Gilliers on the sublime secrets he had been in quest of at Wilhemsbaden, and pressed a little by the sarcastic style with which the Count was wont to jeer the Brotherhood, he at length answered, "I will not tell you the secrets I bring but what I think I may tell you is, that it is all much more serious than you think. *The fact is, that a conspiracy is now contriving, and that with so much art and of so profound a nature, that it will be very difficult for Religion and Nations not to sink under it.*" Happily for Mr. de Virieux, said Mr. de Gilliers when he told me this anecdote, the Count had a great fund of probity and uprightness. What he had learned on his mission so disgusted him with the mysteries, that he abandoned them and became a very religious man. It was to this event that his great zeal against the Jacobins may be attributed.

Unfortunately for all nations, these plots did not inspire the other Masonic Deputies with a similar horror. The Congress being terminated, *Philoknigge* hastened to reap the benefit of his intrigues; and his harvest was much more plentiful than he expected. On the breaking up of the assembly, the deputies flocked to him to beg admission to the mysteries. Such candidates needed no long noviciate, or tedious trials in the minerval schools; they were to be conducted quickly to the mysteries; and Knigge admitted them to the degrees of Eopt and Regent, *which they all received* (he tells us) *with enthusiasm.*⁷ "All of them *were enraptured* with our degrees of Eopt and of Regent; all were enchanted with these *master-pieces*; for so they styled these degrees. Two only made some slight observations on certain expressions, that may be easily changed according to local circumstances, and particularly in Catholic countries."⁸

Were it not that all honest Masons would sink under grief and astonishment, I should conjure them to weigh for a moment these words, *all were enraptured, all received them with enthusiasm*; all Elect, Rosicrucians, Templars, Brethren of Zinnendorf, Brethren of St. John, Knights of the Sun, Knights Kadosh, Perfect Philosophers; all hearken, and receive with enthusiasm those oracles of the Hierophant which cast such light on their antique mysteries, and, expounding the meaning of their *Hiram*, their *Mac Benac*, and their *Polished*

Stone, show that they contain nothing more than primitive Equality and Liberty, as well as that Morality, which entirely consist in the art of annihilating princes, governments, religion and property! When these Deputies shall return to their *Orients*, and spread themselves throughout the Masonic Directories and Provinces, will not these original plots be intruded on your Lodges under the pretence of mysteries? Fly then such dens of sedition; and learn once for all, that those men in whom you place such confidence, are profound conspirators abusing your confidence, just as they will that of princes at a future day. View then this pretended Brotherhood as a hoard of conspirators, who have long waited only for the baleful genius of a Weishaupt to launch out into all the crimes of revolution.

From the period when these Masonic Deputies were illuminized, the Bavarian Sect assumed a menacing aspect; and its progress is so rapid, that the universe will soon be overrun with Conspirators. The center of action may be said to have been at Frankfort, where Knigge resided, and he computes the number of persons he had illuminized, and nearly all of whom were Masons, at five hundred.⁹ There is scarcely a town in his neighbourhood, but has its Epopts and Minerval Schools; Franconia, Swabia, the Circles of the Higher and Lower Rhine, Westphalia, &c. swarm with them.

The towns of Vienna and Berlin almost immediately showed that Austria and Prussia were falling a prey to Illuminism. Tyrol had been already infected, and the same apostle had proceeded to carry it into Italy. In the north adepts were making their attacks on the Lodges of Bruxelles and of Holland, while others were preparing to *introduce Weishaupt's mysteries into England*. In Livonia they had gained footing; and treaties were making in Poland, to throw the whole power of the Confederations into the hands of the Illuminees. If the day of France was not yet come, it was because they entertained deeper views on her; but the day was to come, and all Europe shall now know why it had been deferred.

It would be of little avail for me to have produced Weishaupt's code, were I not also to produce demonstrative evidence of its progress and continuation. History will demand that I prove the existence of this Sect, its mysteries, and conspiracies, ranging from the north to the south and from the east to the west, enlisting under its banners that multitude of hands which it needed to work revolutions. To effectuate this, I shall again appeal to their own annals; they are mutilated, it is true; but notwithstanding that, they are menacing, and they are demonstrative.

In the very year after the congress of Wilhemsbaden we find five provinces completely organized according to the Laws of the modern *Spartacus*, under the general direction of *Philo-Knigge*, and in full correspondence with the illuminizing Areopagites.¹⁰ Even during the time of the congress we find in the *Original Writings* not only simple letters on the progress made by a few candidates, but official reports, and statements made by the Provincials of their provinces, relating to the progress of their novices, of their initiated, and of their emissaries. Let us cast our eyes on these documents, for none can be

better authenticated. Perhaps I might have done well to have translated the whole of them; but though I abridge them, they will still retain the whole force of evidence.

The first of these reports is from *Mahomet*.¹¹ This Provincial of a new species was the Baron SCHROECKENSTEIN, the same whom Weishaupt so early as the first year of his Illuminism, enlisted at Aichstadt, and whom he classed among those foolish Aristocrats who were to *swallow the bait*. The Baron so completely swallowed the bait that in six years we find him one of the Chiefs of the Conspiracy. The Province he presided over in the Illuminized Geography was denominated *Pannonia*, comprehending the districts of *Morea* and *Latium*, which comprise the Lodges of *Olympia*, *Damietta*, *Tibur*, *Hispalis*, *Damascus*, *Sichem*, *Nicomedia*, and *Surentum*. I find that his residence is at Aichstadt; and he informs the Arcopagites, that he has given the name of *Surentum* to the new colony of Mompelgard, which he looks upon as belonging to the Duchy of Wurtemberg, and therefore should be comprised within the district of *Latium*. I also find that *Nicomedia* is Augsburg; hence I conclude, that the Lodges under the inspection of this adept were so many conquests made by Illuminism, partly in Bavaria, and partly in Swabia.

The report contains strong proofs of this Provincial's zeal for the propagation of the Order. We may observe him threatening two adepts with their immediate dismissal unless they show more activity, and promoting two others because they excelled in the arts of insinuation. As a proof of the care with which he describes his inferiors, and of the precautions he takes according to their characters, let the reader peruse the account he gives of the Brotherhood at *Olympia*, which he has just been inspecting: "I have learned," he writes, "to know the Brother *Zeno*. I did not find him to be a *thinker*, and much less a *scrutator*....He does not like to meddle with things that are above the human understanding; and he contents himself with the degree of Minerval, but *promises to enlist us some good novices*....*Crantor* has more ardor; I initiated him myself into the Minerval degree. You may easily conceive how much he is displeased with all his science, and how much his wit disconcerts him, when I tell you that he is furious at his father for having had him taught to write.... *Speusippus* was ill; the others though young are full of ardor....The colony is weak as yet.... *Be guarded in yours letters to Zeno*. He told me, that he would not lodge in the same house with a man who doubted of the immortality of the Soul.... All these Brethren hold their regular meetings, but don't dare enlist their novices under the name of Masonry. *They prefer doing it under the pretence of a Literary Society*, and I made no difficulty in permitting them to continue their practice."

In that town of *Latium*, or of the Duchy of Wurtemberg, which *Mahomet* calls *Damietta*, there is an academy and a college; and one of the professors is the adept *Phirro*, whose *honesty* and *activity* could not be sufficiently praised by the Provincial. The following institution may serve as a specimen of this man's honesty: "By means of this Brother, says *Mahomet*, the whole academy of this town is become a real nursery for us (*eine pflanz schule für uns*). *Pythagoras*-

DREXL is the unknown superior of *this assembly, which is entirely composed of young pupils of noble birth*. He has under him an apparent superior to conduct and form them, *chosen from among the young men*. No reversal letters are required of them; they are only flattered with the hopes (should they prove faithful to the lessons instilled into them) of *being hereafter admitted into an Order composed of the best men*."

Lest such lessons should be lost to those who were educated at Court, the adept *Epimenides-FALK*, aulic counsellor and burgo-master of Hanover, has taken care to illumine the sub preceptor of a young Prince designed by the initials T. H.... After having told all this news to the Areopagites, *Mahomet* at length informs them, that *Machiavel*, one of his emissaries, has sent in a list of the honest men with whom he has made acquaintance in Switzerland; and that things would take a good turn there, provided *Philo-Knigge* would stimulate a little the zeal of the Helvetian apostle.

The next official report is from *Minos-DITTFURT* the Assessor. This man was also a Baron. As a recompense for the pains he had taken at Wilhelms-baden, Knigge had made him the Provincial or Superior of Veteravia, and probably of part of Westphalia. His command comprised two districts, *Dacia* and *Lydia*. Overburdened with business, and more attentive to that of Illuminism than to the affairs of the Empire, he gives but a brief account of the present. He names about a dozen Brethren, among whom are four novices. He distinguishes the Brother *Bentharith* in particular, whom he means to entrust with the establishment of a Minerval school at *Bensabè*.—Meanwhile, till he can report further progress, he proposes his plan for *an illumined sisterhood*, which he promises to place under the direction of another Baron, who, like himself, is an Assessor at the Imperial Chamber. About the same time (*Merdemeh* 1152, August 1782), Knigge's report states, that *Minos* was in correspondence with Doctor Stark, in hopes of making a conquest of the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt by means of his grand Almoner. The Illuminating Assessor does not report the progress of this negociation; but Knigge appears to have foreseen the success it would have, when he writes to the Areopagites, "I am much pleased to see that Brother *Minos* has entered into a correspondence with Doctor Stark; it will teach him, that to be able to treat with a man of wit one must have some one's self." Though it seems that Knigge did not allow any great share to this Provincial, yet he founded great hopes on his services, especially if *his too great zeal could be repressed*.

The third report is from the adept *Epictetus-MIEG*, Provincial of Albania, the same Brother whom we shall find mentioned by Knigge as founding the Lodge at Manheim surnamed *Surinam*, and at Frankenthal that called *Parmaribo*, within the prefecture of *Paphlagonia*, or of the Palatinate. It would seem, that at that period *Albania* had passed under the inspection of some other Provincial: This *Epictetus-Mieg* was a counsellor and Protestant Minister of Heidelberg, his habitual residence, and had been instructed in the arts of Insinuator by Weishaupt himself.

The reader may judge of this man's merits from the following eulogium that Weishaupt makes on him when writing to *Celsus*: "Do not forget, when at Munich, to do every thing in your power for our *Epictetus*. He is nearly the best of the adepts. He has a little too much ardor, but in all other points he is incomparable. He has already *made a conquest for the Order of nearly the whole Palatinate*. Not a country town but contains one or two adepts at least."¹² This letter being of the same year as the report, it would be useless to particularize. Some, however, of the Brethren mentioned by *Epictetus* deserve our attention: such, for example, as a certain Brother described by the initials B. E. under the direction of *Diodorus*, who in a Catholic University and of the Catholic Religion himself until that period, thought he could not give a better proof of his zeal for Illuminism, than by attempting to defend a Protestant thesis, and that under a pretence that denotes neither a Catholic nor a Protestant, but a man who views Religion only as a political invention.—He gives for reason, that the *College of the Counts of Westphalia must be a Protestant College*.—Next the Brother *Erastus*, of the same degree, who asks advice as to the best means to succeed in *illuminizing the Preceptor of the Prince of Dupont's son*, and by that means to educate the young Prince according to the views of the Order. And lastly the Brother *Pic de la Mirandole*, or BRUNNER, a Priest at Tiefenback, in the bishopric of Spire. "This man," says the Provincial, "is as yet a novice, but full of zeal for the Order. The tenth of September he defended his Thesis in spite of the Jesuits. In his *Quibus Licet he begs the Order to take precautions lest the fortress of Philisbourg*, which the Austrians had abandoned, *should fall into the hands of a bigoted officer, who was petitioning for the government of it*; and to have it given to another officer (more worthy of it, I suppose) who aspired to it."—This Illuminized Novice, who already pays so much attention to fortresses, will appear on the stage again with the Brethren of Mentz, conspiring and delivering up that town to the French Jacobins.

The fourth official report is made by the adept *Agis*-KRÖBER. He does not take the title of Provincial; he only acts for *Alberoni-BLEUBETREU*, originally a Jew, and who afterward made himself a Christian to become Aulic Counsellor to the Prince of Neuwied, and a Provincial of the Illuminees. *Agis* was governor to the Count Stolberg's children, and the memoirs I have before me declare him to have been afterward charged with the education of the young Prince of Neuwied, to have gained the good graces of the Princess, sowing discord in that court, and destroying the internal happiness of that family; in short, he was known to all Germany by a name that could not reflect honour on his protectrix.—As news, he informs the Areopagites that the Baron de Witte, at Aix-la-Chapelle, is much more zealous than was expected; that he has undertaken to illuminate his Masonic Lodge there; and that from his letters they may hope to see that of Bruxelles share a similar fate.... The Brother *Agis* enquires whether they think it proper that he should enter into a correspondence with *those fools of the Hermetic Cabal*. Before he initiates them in the secrets of the Order, he wishes to present himself at their Lodges as one acquainted with theirs. He owns, that he is not sufficiently

master of all their systems. He asks for some instruction, that he may perfect himself in them, lest he should be discovered by those Masons for whom he has a sovereign contempt, but with whose jargon it is necessary that he should be acquainted, to make a conquest of them for the Order. These instructions are the more necessary, as a Brother of the district has just applied to him for leave to show some of his letters to the Venerable of the Masonic Lodge at *Iris*, to enable him to make but one draught of the whole Lodge, Venerable and all.

In the same report the Brother *Agis* recommends to the Areopagites the adept *Archelaus-BARRES*, heretofore a major in the French service, at present throwing himself on the protection of the Order to obtain a place in some court of Germany, and the Cross of Merit from that of France, with a brevet of *Major à la suite*: "I had taken it into my head (says he) that the Ambassador Ch...was one of ours; that he had great influence with....(the court or ministers), therefore I did not refuse our protection. If we succeed in this business, *the fame of our power will be greatly extended*. Scarcely a week passes without somebody coming to solicit our protection at the courts of Versailles, of Vienna, or of Berlin. It is enough to make one die of laughing. We take great care, however, not to dismiss those people without hopes; we only say, that we do not like to importune those courts every day."

A marginal note is found opposite to this article in Knigge's own handwriting, saying *Who the devil has put into their heads this fable of our omnipotence?* The man who wrote the question might also have written the answer; for we may observe him long before this period straining every nerve to give the Brethren a high opinion of the power of the Order, and even flattering himself, that through the exertions of his agents he had obtained for the adepts *honourable situations, livings, and dignities, which he distributed in the names of the unknown superiors; who were not even in existence at that time;* and when these superiors do exist, we see him acting precisely as the Brother *Agis* had done, procuring from an adept Count the place of *Chancellor Director*, with a salary of twelve hundred florins, sending the nomination to his candidate *Wundt, ecclesiastical counsellor at Heidelberg*; and to show the candidate the great power of the Brethren, informing him, *that the Order had got him named to this dignity*.¹³

The very article on which Knigge had made this note is followed by another, which will sufficiently demonstrate the credit they had acquired in certain courts, and the use they could turn it to for the propagation of their mysteries. "This week (continues *Agis*) we shall receive a Lutheran minister, who by *slight of hand has collected about nine thousand florins* for the community (the Lodge) of this place. *As soon as peace is made, he is TO SET OFF FOR LONDON, with a multitude of letters of recommendation*. The Pr——F——O. B., uncle to the reigning Duke, has promised to second him with all his might.¹⁴ It is our intention also to employ him in that country for the Order. HE MUST SLILY ILLUMINIZE THE ENGLISH.... A large Dutch wig, a sallow and meagre complexion, large eyes widely opened, a fertile imagination, a perfect knowledge of

men, acquired by roving about the world for the space of two years under the disguise of a beggar.... Do not you think that with such qualifications this man will do wonders?—During this winter we will drill him, as the Hernuti used to do their apostles.”

The adept so well described by *Agis-Kröber*, and on whom he grounds his hopes of the *Illuminization of England*, is not mentioned even by his characteristic; but a manuscript marginal note informs me, that his real name was RÖNTGEN, a Dutch protestant of Petkam, in East Friesland.

The fifth report is mutilated, and is without the name of any Provincial. Such as it is, however, it forcibly evinces the progress of the Set during the last three months of 1782 in the Electorates of Cologne and of Treves, called *Picinum*. At this epoch the Provincial is much elated at the high repute Masonry has acquired in those parts since it has been illuminized. “Here (says he) a Mason was formerly a laughing-stock, whereas now a man who does not belong to a Lodge is pitied. Every body flocks to us; and the prophane thirst after our mysteries.—Every body comes to crave the protection of an Order that is so powerful.”

A very unexpected proof of their power is to be found in their Archives; it is the disgrace and exile of the Abbé Beck, whom the Prince Clement of Saxony and Elector of Treves had till then favoured with his confidence. I had not the honour of being acquainted with this venerable ecclesiastic; but I remembered to have seen some of his friends at Paris, who augured ill from his disgrace. I little expected at that time to find his apology in so complete a style in the report made by the Provincial to his superiors: “The famous executioner of the Elector’s conscience, the Abbé B. has at length received his dismissal, and an order to leave the country. Ever since the Elector has had this *Jesuit*¹⁵ in his service; he has been a declared enemy to Freemasonry, and generally speaking, to every thing that tends to enlighten mankind. Now that this Jesuit is out of the way, *we have the greatest hopes* of making a glorious harvest in Treves and the Electorate.” How indignant must his Electoral Highness have been when he discovered in this official report the true origin of all those insinuations to which one of his most faithful servants had fallen a victim; and particularly when he observed the advantages that his real enemies, and enemies of all governments, promised themselves in consequence of an illusion originating, in all probability, entirely with themselves.

We shall here give another proof of the omnipotence that the Order was acquiring in the different courts of Germany. The Provincial, under the head of the Lodge of *Pinna*, that is to say Hachenburg, gives an account of the inauguration of Doctor Vogler, physician to the Count of Kirthenberg, and then continues, “Here the affairs of the Order prosper amazingly well; *the Count is entirely surrounded by Illuminees. His private secretary, his physician, his pastor, his counsellors, are all ours.—The Prince’s favorites are our most zealous adepts; and we have taken our precautions for the future. Let the Order establish itself as well elsewhere, and the world is our’s.*”

This wish of the illuminizing Provincial would soon have been accomplished, had the adepts been every where as zealous as those whom he mentions of the provinces of *Picinum* and *Dacia*. One adept in particular had made thirteen novices in three months; and it is not unworthy of remark, that eleven were already Free-masons, and two Lutheran ministers, who were characterized in the Order by the names of *Averroës* and *Theognis*. The first showed so much zeal, activity, and intelligence, and the principles of the Order appeared to have taken such deep root in his heart, that the superiors hastened his initiation into the higher degrees, that they might admit him to the council, and ease themselves of some part of their labours on him. The other, *Theognis-FISCHER*, became curate of Wölsbrück in Austria, near Lintz, by means of the intrigues of the adept *Rausanias*. In Knigge's report to the Areopagites, I find the following note on this adept:

"*Theognis*, at the time of his promotion to his curacy, received a letter from the bishop of K——, the principles of which appear to be copied from our code. The prelate mentions a secret project of reform, and begs *Theognis* not to show his letter to any body. The Brethren of this colony are firmly persuaded that the Bishop is one of our adepts; and to that circumstance they attribute his having given a benefice to *Theognis*; and in consequence of it they labour with redoubled zeal."

What can have induced the editor of the Original Writings to give only the initial letter of this Bishop's name? Have not the Evangelists named Judas Iscariot at full length? Why not then name the prelate HASLEIN, vice-president of the spiritual council at Munich, afterwards Lord Bishop of KHERSON for the church, and Brother *Philo of Byblos* for Weishaupt? With a little less respect for persons, would mistrust fall on those who deserve it, and who so little respect their own dignity; and the world would know the man who was foremost in the conspiracy against God, though he might wear a mitre.

Before I undertake to present a list to my reader, I will mention the last official reports recorded in the annals of the Sect. They are made by Knigge himself, and are dated *Thirmeh*, *Merdedmeh*, *Dimeh*, 1152, that is to say July and August, 1782, and the January following. We there find, that his mission at Wilhelmsbaden did not hinder him from overlooking the provincial superiors, whose reports I have just stated. It was to him that their reports were first sent; he transmitted them to the Areopagites, after making such remarks as his zeal for the propagation of the Sect might suggest. What he particularly blames in his inferiors was, a want of method. That want of regularity in their proceedings appeared to him to impede their success, and to render it less certain than he could wish. And he writes to his senate, "I cannot sufficiently repeat it; when we shall have organized the whole body, when every province shall have its Provincial, and every Inspector shall have three Provincials under his inspection; when our National Directory shall be established at *Rome* (that is to say, Vienna); when our Areopagites shall be freed from all the tiresome detail (and by that means certain of remaining known) and shall only have to inspect the whole, to perfect the system, and to direct the propagation of it in

other countries; when the Order can give proper help to the directing Brethren, then, and not before, shall we be able to do some thing."

Soon after these lessons, and under the head France, we read, "With respect to that country, I would not advise you to undertake any thing, until I shall have disposed of the multiplicity of business that overpowers me at present. I have even laid aside for the present my projects on Alsace and Lorraine." Meanwhile, till that day comes, Knigge takes a view of the reports returned to him by the Provincials and subjoins to the number of their Novices those whom he had made himself. But the grand object that absorbs all his attention is the means of consummating the intrusion into the Masonic Lodges, which is at once to enlist millions of men under the standard of his Areopage, and to effectuate his Illuminizing revolution.

At the period of this last report, that is, January 1783, this intrusion had made great progress; and it was to that circumstance that Weishaupt was indebted for the multitude of adepts who already had spread his conspiracy throughout Germany. Let the reader cast an eye on the map of Germany, and on the Lodges already Illuminized. It is true, that many towns are at present unintelligible, in consequence of the geographical nomenclature adopted by the Sect; but every one of these names denotes an Illuminized Lodge, a town where the conspirators have gained a hold; and hence we may observe, that scarcely a canton is to be found where this baleful Sect has not penetrated. Let us attend only to those towns that, in spite of all their precautions, have been discovered either by the writings or habitual residence of the great adepts;—what a formidable alliance have they already formed! The first of the Provincials immediately under the direction of Weishaupt has under him alone the Lodges of Munich, of Ratisbon, of Landsberg, of Burghausen, of Straubingen, and of Freysingen.—In the Circles of Franconia and Swabia, the Baron *Mahomet* presides, at least over those at Aichstadt, his habitual residence, at Bamberg, at Nuremberg, at Augsburg, at Mompelgard, and over those of the Duchy of Wurtemberg.—In the Circles of the Upper Rhine and of the Palatinate of the Lower Rhine the Sect has established itself, at Deux-ponts, Manheim, Frankenthal, Heidelberg, Spire, Worms, Wetzlar, and Franckfort on the Mein.—The Electorates of Mayence, of Treves and Cologne, have, with their capitals, shared a similar fate.—In Westphalia, this distemper rages at Aix-La-Chapelle, at Neuwied and at Hachenburg.—In Higher and Lower Saxony, at Kiel, at Bremen, at Brunswick, at Hanover, at Gottinguen, at Gotha, at Jena.—The great adepts *Nicolai* and *Leuchsering*, establish Illuminism at Berlin, and the adept *Brutus* reports that the Minerval Schools are in as full activity at Vienna in Austria, as they were at Lintz. *Hannibal*, or Weishaupt's grand commissioner the Baron Bassus had established it at Inspruck and Botzen, and at many other towns in the Tyrol. From the bottom of his den at Ingolstadt, Weishaupt presides over his conspiring crew; and through their means he commands, as it were, Germany and its confines, and might be called its Emperor of Darkness. He has more towns in his conspiracy than the Chief of the Empire has in his dominions.

At this period a great revolution took place in the code of the Illuminees, which only contributed to augment the strength of the Sect, and which I hope the historian will not overlook, as it will furnish him with an answer to those who may repeat an objection that has often been made to me. "Weishaupt's Illuminism only began in Bavaria about the middle of the year 1776; the Sect chiefly attached itself to youth. It required a long noviciate, and many years for its Minerval schools to form the adepts and prepare them for the degrees where the conspiracy is entered upon. It must have required therefore generation after generation to form that multitude of conspirators whose marshalled cohorts rise triumphant at a time when Illuminism is still in its cradle."

This objection may have appeared forcible; but at the period where we now stand it solves itself. Knigge has answered it when he enumerates that multitude of Masons who have already attained the years of discretion, and did not stand in need of those long trials, and who, in the protestant countries particularly, disdained the Minerval schools *only the more to show their ardour to be admitted to the higher degrees* of the conspiracy.¹⁶ Weishaupt soon understood the reason of this rapid progress; and it was on that account that he dispensed with the severity of the code and the trials of the Minerval school, and that he exhorted his Insinulators to enroll, after Knigge's example, men who could be quickly advanced to the higher mysteries: Such was the new method of recruiting that was adopted at this period. When the Provincials mention the ages of the Novices, we find few that have not attained the age of manhood, generally of twenty-five, thirty, forty, and even fifty years of age, and whose occupations in life denote years of discretion. Thus then does the Sect enlist multitudes of hands that do not wait for age to enable them to prepare for, or even to act when the day of revolution shall be come.

Another consideration that should not escape the historian is, the avowal (frequently repeated by the Adepts in the Original Writings) "that the great progress they made was in consequence of the facility with which they introduced themselves into the Masonic Lodges, and of the preponderance that the mysteries of Illuminism daily acquired in the Lodges." One of the Illuminees, *Lullus*, tells us, that since several Masons and some even of the most zealous Rosicrucians, have been initiated in our mysteries, *one would think that the Order had acquired new life, and a much increased force of expansion or of propagation*.¹⁷ The Areopagite *Hannibal* attributes the success of his mission to the same cause. In the report he makes of his proceedings, he begins by congratulating himself on having found Masonic Lodges already established in the Tyrol. It was in them that he made his great conquests, that he recruited Counsellors of the Regency, Professors of Colleges, Counts, Excellencies, Ministers of the Emperor, Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Masters of the Post Office, Counsellors of the Government, all enthusiasts for the new mysteries of Illuminism. At the sight of such unexpected success, he openly confesses that they are all due to the new method introduced by *Philo-Knigge*. He then informs the Areopagites "that *the experienced Masons are turning themselves on all*

sides in quest of light, that scarcely had he given the slightest indication of it, before their hearts were inflamed, and their entreaties to be initiated were most pressing. That it was just the moment for making great conquests at Vienna, *where there must be more than four hundred Masons.*" If at Milan he has not so good a prospect, it is because no *Masonic Lodges* have been established there; but he will find some at Cremona, Pavia, and other parts of Italy; and he ends by requesting that the other towns he means to visit may be comprehended in the new Geography of the Sect.¹⁸

In short, how does Knigge himself account for that prodigious multitude of adepts recruited in so short a period for Illuminism? "When I entered the Order (he writes to *Cato-Zwack*) you were all in the dark with respect to the *Masons of the Strict Observance*. I told you so, and was positive that among them there were excellent men (for us). *Spartacus* believed me; and the event has proved it. Our best adepts at Neuwied, at Gottingen, at Mayence, at Hanover, at Brunswick, and in the Palatinate, *were all formerly Free-masons of the Strict Observance.*"¹⁹

Nevertheless, these conquests on Masonry made by Illuminism do not satisfy either *Philo-Knigge* or *Spartacus-Weishaupt*. They will not even let the name of Masonry exist, but as a cloak for their Illuminism. Let us then consider of their new means and further successes in the following Chapter.²⁰

1. Last Observations of *Philo*, Page 83.
2. Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Knigge's Report of *Dimeh* 1132, or January 1783.
3. This system of Zinnendorf was an incoherent medley of the Scotch and Swedish degrees, of the Knights Templars, of the *Confidants of St. John*; and at that time was the predominant system in Germany.
4. Original Writings, Vol. II. Knigge's Report of *Dimeh* 1132, or January 1783.
5. Ibid.
6. Last Observations, page 85.
7. Die höheren graden wurden mit enthusiasmus aufgenommen.
8. Jeder mann war zufrieden—Meine Leute waren entzückt über diese meister stücke. *Last Observations, Pages 125 and 132—and Original Writings, Let. 1, of Philo to Cato.*
9. Original Writings, Vol. II. Let from *Philo* to *Cato*.
10. Original Writings, Vol. II, let. 3, from *Philo* to *Weishaupt*.
11. This report is of the month of *Chardad* 1152, that is to say June 1782, consequently anterior to the breaking up of the Masonic Congress. *Mahomet* is nevertheless in direct correspondence with *Philo-Knigge*; for we may observe the latter pointing out to the former novices to be initiated.—*Original Writings, Philo's Report.*
12. Hat schier die ganze pfälz unter das commando des O's (*ordens*) gebracht. In jedem Landstädtchen sind ein oder zwie—*Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 13, anno 1782.*
13. See Last Observations of *Philo*, Page 45.—*Original Writings, Vol. II. Page 202.*
14. In my copy of the Original Writings I find a manuscript note in the margin, by a man who is very conversant on these matters; it states, that these initials stand for the *Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick*. Pr—— F—— V. B—— *hat ihm alle unterstützung versprochen.*

15. The appellation *Jesuit* is here used by the Illuminees as a term of scurrilous reproach, as it frequently is against any person inimical to their principles, for the Abbé Beck never was a Jesuit.
16. Knigge says, that in the Catholic countries the Philosophical writings, the light of the age, (the impiety of the day) had not made near so much progress as in protestant countries. This was true with respect to Bavaria; would to God that the same thing could have been said of France! Be that as it may, "The Minerval schools, says Knigge, did not take at all in the Protestant countries; and in fact, says he, such institutions could only be of use in Catholic countries buried in darkness, and for indifferent old-fashioned beings. But the greater aversion shown by the Brethren for these assemblies of Novices, the more earnestly they solicited to be admitted to the higher degrees;—*Mit der Minerval classe wollte es in protestantischen länder durchaus nicht fort, und wirklich war auch diese anstalt verzüglich nur in ferfinsterten catholischen provinzen, und auf mittelmässige alltags menschen anwendbar—Je weniger aber die mietglieder geneigt waren versammlungen der Pflanz-schule anzulegen, um desto eifriger drangen sie in mich, ihnen endlich die höhere grade mitzutheilen.*" *Philo endliche erklärang*, P. 52, 53, et passim. The reader will not forget that Knigge speaks particularly of those sophisticated Masons among whom he was making recruits, and who were better prepared for the mysteries than the others because they were more accustomed to the secrets of the Lodge.
17. R. Lullus's Journal, Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Sect. VI.
18. Orig. Writ. Vol. I. and II. *Hannibal's* four Letters.
19. Unsere besten leute in Neuwied, Göttinguen, Mainz, Hannover, Braunschweig, Pfaltz, sind ehemalige mitglieder der Stricten Observanz.
20. For the whole of this chapter let the Reader apply to the Original Writings, Vol. II. Part I. and the Reports of the Provincials (*Provincial-Berichte*) from P. 159 to 221.

CHAP. VI.

*New Means practised, and new conquests made by
Knigge and Weishaupt on Masonry—Disputes between
these two Chiefs of Illuminism—Their designs
on the German Masons consummated before Knigge's Retreat.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the immense number of Masons that had flocked to the standard of Illuminism, Weishaupt and Knigge laboured under some apprehensions with respect to a new congress that had been appointed for the following year at Wilhemsbaden. Knigge particularly dreaded that new Code and new form that was in agitation for the Lodges. He knew that some of the Brethren had been named to make a digest of laws; nor could he forget, that others had received instructions from the Congress to gain admission into, *and get themselves received members of all the secret societies, in order that they might be initiated into their mysteries*, and make their report at the following congress. Lest all the fruits of his last mission at Wilhemsbaden should be blasted in the bud at this new meeting, Knigge sought to make himself acquainted with the dispositions, with regard to his Illuminism, of the commissaries nominated to make the new digest of laws.

The chief of these commissaries was a man of the name of BODE, already famous in the annals of Masonry, and who was soon to become more so in those of Illuminism. The son of a common soldier of Brunswick, he was brought up as a fifer of a regiment, but he soon thought himself destined to act a higher part in the world than to accompany a drum with the shrill sounds of his fife. He had learned to read, and was sufficiently acquainted with the French and English languages to undertake some translations. Those of Tristram Shandy and Yorick's Sentimental Journey gained him more credit than money; he then set up as a bookseller at Hamburg; but soon becoming the widower of a rich heiress he abandoned trade, and was decorated by the Duke of Weimar with the title of Counsellor of Embassy. At length he was declared Privy Counsellor to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

Created a *Commander* among the *Templar Masons* under the title of Knight of the Lillies of the Valley, *Eques a Lilio convallium*, Bode had brought with him all that genius necessary to give importance to the games of their Equality and Liberty, and, above all, that concern which impiety and independence manifest, to discover their mysteries in the symbols of that same Equality and Liberty. The services that he rendered to the Brethren may be appreciated by

that which Knigge believed to be so much to his honor, when he says, that *nearly all the little good that is to be found in the system of the Strict Observance is to be attributed to Bode*; or, in other words, every thing that assimilated their system to that of Weishaupt. After having closely scrutinized his man, Knigge declares him to be advanced in years, but still in quest of truth which he had not yet been able to find, though he had been forty years a Mason; he depicts him as indifferent to all systems, though petulant, fiery, and jealous of dominion; and as loving to be flattered by Princes. To this description I may add from my German Memorials, that his exterior was unpolished and almost deformed, which, however, did not hinder this old Mason from acting the part of a wit and of a man of sentiment with the Ladies. They also describe him as a pedant, with an appearance of frankness that Princes mistook for openness of character; but with which they might not have been so easily duped had they known, that though he sought their favor, he as cordially hated them as he did what he called the *Mummeries of Religion, of Jesuits, and of Priests*. Such sentiments must necessarily have endeared him to the Illuminees. Knigge more particularly courted him on account of the great influence he enjoyed over the German Masonry. These two men scrutinized each other, and Knigge at length declares, that "after many mutual explanations he had admitted him to the degree of Scotch Knight."—Here Bode found all those promises to forward the views of the Order, to reveal all his discoveries on Masonry to his new Superiors, to install the Illuminees in all the principal posts of the Lodges, and to embezzle their funds. *None of these obligations appear to have given him any uneasiness*; but he feared, that in the end those unknown superiors would turn out to be Jesuits and Priests. It was necessary, therefore, to remove such fears, and to guarantee to him that those superiors detested Priests and Jesuits as much as he did himself. "On this condition (says Knigge) he promised, 1st, To labor for us, and, by means of the new System or Code to be formed for Masonry, to throw the empire over the Lodges into our hands. 2dly, To put the Directories and provincial inspections, in as much as depended on him, into the hands of the Illuminees. 3dly, To prevail on the Brethren of the *Strict Observance* to fraternize with us. 4thly, In the forming of the new Masonic Code, never to lose sight of the illuminized plan for the choice of Masters or Venerables of Lodges. 5thly, To lay before the Superiors all the knowledge he has acquired concerning the origin of Masonry and of the Rosicrucians; and to cause the *Deductions* promised for the *Strict Observance* to be printed at our presses, and to distribute them to our Brethren according to agreement."¹

Such promises from Bode were of too much consequence to be rejected by the Illuminees; he was received with open arms, and under the characteristic of *Amelius*, was ushered into the higher degrees. We shall soon see how faithfully he acquitted himself of his promises.

While Knigge was making such important acquisitions from Masonry, Weishaupt was meditating another plan, that was to install him Master of all the Lodges of Poland. The Arcopagite Cato-Zwack received nearly at the same time both Knigge's official note relative to Bode, and the following letter from

Weishaupt: "I have a mind to undertake the Polonese Confederation, not precisely to Illuminize them, but merely as Free-masonry to establish *the System of Confederate Lodges*; to select the ablest persons; to get the start of the *Strict Observance*, and to destroy it. Write immediately to Warsaw, that you are acquainted with several Lodges at Munich and other towns, that are willing to confederate with them on the following conditions:—1st, That they should acknowledge but the first three degrees—2dly, That each Lodge should be at liberty to have what Superiors and as many of them as they pleased—3dly, That all Lodges should be independent of each other, at least as much so as the Lodges of Germany are of those of Poland—4thly, That all their union shall be carried on by the correspondence and visits of the Brethren.—If we can but gain that point, we shall have succeeded in all we want; *leave the rest to me.*

"*Philo* has already received instructions to prepare our Lodges of the Rhine and of Lower Saxony for this plan. Don't lose a day; for both time and danger press. *John is coming*, and the confederation will take place at Vienna before that time. The Lodge ★ ★ appears as if it would accede...Send to Warsaw the manifesto that is to be immediately circulated in the Lodges on the occasion. Without doubt the federation will be numerous. *See how I can seize every occasion and turn every circumstance to use.* As soon as you shall get an answer send it to me; don't lose a minute. The most important business for us is, to establish an *Ecdectic* Masonry; if we succeed in that, 'tis all we want. Do not mention our Order in Warsaw; it is always desirable to gain so essential a point. Send all your documents on Poland to *Philo*. A multitude of Lodges would have joined us had they not dreaded to be taken for *blind Lodges*. This arrangement will raise the difficulty. The English Lodge of *Edessa* (Frankfort) has already promised to accede to these conditions. Send your dispatches off immediately for Warsaw, without transmitting them to me, that they may get there sooner; and desire an immediate answer."²

Though persons who cannot gain admission to Weishaupt's secret councils may not foresee why he so earnestly interests himself in this plan for the propagation of the conspiracy, we may, however, remark, that Knigge had conceived the full importance of the measure when a week after he writes to Zwack, "*That plan on Poland is a most masterly blow.* I have already sent my draft of the circular letter for the Lodges to *Spartacus*." According to Weishaupt's plan, this circular letter was not intended for the Polish Masons alone, but was to be sent to all the Lodges of the Order. It is to be found in the second volume of the *Original Writings*, and is exactly that medley of artifice for the seduction of Masons which might be expected from its author. Knigge begins with a fulsome eulogy on their institution. He tells them, that their society *was intended by God and nature to reclaim the rights of humanity oppressed, of virtue persecuted, and of science degenerated.* In a story artfully intermixed with truth and falsehood, he endeavours to demonstrate how much the Order had swerved from its grand object for about twenty years past. To restore it therefore to its ancient splendor, he invites all Brethren fired with a true zeal to unite with those Masons who alone have remained in possession of the real

mysteries, with a society formed for their preservation about the year 1762, and whose special object was to oppose the tyranny of the Brethren of the *Strict Observance*; in short, to join a society which he declares to be composed of the best heads of the Order, and of men whose science and experience would command the esteem and veneration of all that approached them. At length, giving the plan for his new association, "In the new regimen admitted by these real Masons (says he) we invariably hold to the first degrees. Several Lodges unite together in the choice of one for their *Scotch directory*, or chief place of their district, to which each sends a Deputy. This Directory decides on money matters, overlooks objects of economy and the raising of contributions, and grants powers for the erecting of new Lodges. Above this tribunal we have no Superiors who have a right to raise contributions; they are not entitled to an exact account every three months of the moral and political state of every Lodge. A certain number of *Scotch Directories* join to chuse a *Provincial Directory*, three of the latter elect an Inspector, and three Inspectors choose the National Director.

"This is not the place for expatiating on what we have already done in the silent abodes of secrecy, or on what we mean to do. It will suffice to say, that we have schools to form the young men whom we afterward admit into our Order, and who are destined to labour to procure happier and more tranquil days for the rising generation. The care we bestow on these pupils is in our eyes the most honorable part of our labours. Should the Lodges wish for any further particulars, they shall receive them from the very persons who have thought proper to propose this plan."³

The memorials before us are not sufficiently explicit to enable us to decide what effect Zwack's and Knigge's letters produced on the Polish Masons. In Zwack's note, however, on the *progress of the Brethren*, we may observe that the *Areopage* was in treaty for a strict alliance with the National Lodge of Poland. With respect to Germany, we are not left in the dark as to the success of these artifices; but then it is to Bode particularly that such successes are attributed. Through his means it was, that Knigge acquired powerful protectors with the masons of high rank, and particularly with the committee that was to frame the new code. By the help of such protection he so amazingly extended the number of the adepts, that Weishaupt pretended to be alarmed, or was so in reality. The despotic founder viewed with a jealous eye the ascendant that Knigge was daily acquiring, and the great encomiums bestowed on him by the adepts in their *Quibus Licets*. Beside, his profound policy led him to conceive that his power would be too much divided by that of Knigge's, to ensure him sovereign sway over his tenebrous meetings, and to preserve that unity of object and action which his plots required. This multitude of adepts suddenly initiated to the higher mysteries kept him in a state of continual alarm. Among these new disciples some might be found who, not having undergone the necessary trials, might expose both himself and all the conspiracies of his Sect to be discovered. Though Knigge had faithfully copied (as the reader has seen) all the profligate mysteries that Weishaupt had

invented in the degree of Epopt, yet this illuminizing chief did not scruple to accuse the Baron of having weakened them; the fact was, that he could not forgive him for having participated in the glory of founding the Order. He even pretended that Knigge was privately laying the foundations of another secret society.⁴ These reflections weighed so heavily on the mind of the despotic chief, that all on a sudden Knigge found himself deposed at the very instant when he was most elated with his successes in the service of the Order.

Weishaupt took from him the direction of his provinces, and made him subject to some of his own pupils. The manner in which Knigge received this humbling news cannot be better described than in his own letters to Weishaupt and to Zwack. The latter had attempted to reconcile these two terrible competitors, particularly by affecting to throw the whole blame of their disagreements on *Mahomet* and another brother, "It is neither *Mahomet* nor that other brother (says Knigge to *Cato*), but it is that *Jesuitism* of Weishaupt, that occasions all our broils and disputes. It is that despotism which he exercises over men perhaps less powerful in imagination, art, and cunning than himself, but equal to him at least in good-will, prudence, uprightness and probity; over men who have rendered the most important services, without which his Order would still have been a pitiful medley of boys. Long since have I observed his intention of deceiving me; but I am firmly resolved to make him feel, notwithstanding my excessive patience and obedience, that there are men who are not to be played upon with impunity. I therefore declare, that nothing can ever put me again on the same footing with *Spartacus* on which I was before; *but as long as I live I will do every thing in my power for the good of the Order; and ye (The Areopagites), my best of friends, ye shall always find me ready to obey ye in every thing conducive to the same object.*"

After this exordium Knigge proceeds to enumerate every thing that he had done for Weishaupt, in the perfecting of the Code, the founding of Lodges, and the recruiting of Brethren. "I had actually recruited *five hundred* (he continues) when he chose to view me in the light of an indifferent being, who was ruining his affairs by my want of reflection. Without giving me any intimation, he began to correspond with my inferiors. I have seen some of his letters to my pupils, in which he treats me as a novice.—At present I am under the direction of *Minos*, and am to send him my *Quibus Licet* every month. Without being an ambitious man, I see no reason why I should put up with such affronts, and allow myself to be led like a scholar by a professor of Ingolstadt. And certainly with respect to him I look upon myself as dispensed from all obedience. With regard to you, ready to obey the slightest intimation of your wishes, I consent to continue to direct the provinces of *Hesse* and *Upper Saxony*, until every thing is properly organized in those countries. I shall then retire, prompt, notwithstanding, to serve you with all my might, either by night or by day."

This letter is dated the 20th of Jan. 1783, and is immediately followed by another to the same adept. The latter shows how painful it was to Knigge to

abandon the Brethren; but at length he writes to Zwack, "Were I to give way to an imprudent vengeance? reflect on this at least."

"It was by order of *Spartacus* (auf *Spartacus* geheiss) that I wrote against the *ci-devant Jesuists* and against the *Rosicrucians*, neither of whom had ever done me any harm. It was by his orders that I spread dissensions among the Masons of the *Strict Observance*, and seduced their ablest brethren. I instilled into them strong ideas of the antiquity, the excellence and power of our Order, of the perfection of our Superiors, of the irreproachable manners of the Brethren, of the importance of our mysteries, and of the sincerity and purity of our intentions. Many of those who at present labour most efficaciously for our Order were under constant apprehensions that we were leading them to Deism. *Little by little, however, I do what I please.* Now were I to inform the Jesuits and the Rosicrucians of their real persecutor; were I simply to let some certain persons into the secret of the insignificant novelty of the Order; were I to inform them that I composed parts of the degrees; were I to tell them how I am treated after the many services I have rendered; were I to make them acquainted with the *Jesuitism* of that man who leads us all by the nose, and sacrifices us to his ambition whenever he pleases; were I to inform the secret-hunters that they will not find that which they are in quest of; were I to let those who love religion into the secret of the founder's religious principles; were I to sound the alarm to Free-masons concerning an association set on foot by the Illuminees; were I myself to establish an Order on a more solid, clear, disinterested plan, whose object should be honesty and liberty; were I to attract the many able men whom I am acquainted with into this new Order; were I to place certain persons in your's who would inform me in future of every thing that was transacting in it; were I to give a hint only in *Greece* (Bavaria) that should at once disclose the founder and his Order; were I to sound the alarm to Princes by means of *Numenius* and the Rosicrucians at *Rome* (Vienna): I shudder at the idea! No, I will not carry vengeance to such lengths; but if I do not obtain satisfaction, I will take such steps as my honor requires. Let me once more enjoy that unlimited confidence that I formerly enjoyed, and then I shall be ready to undertake great things for the Order again. I am perfectly acquainted with our people; I know what attaches each one to the Order, and what engines should be set in motion either to excite their enthusiasm or suddenly to crush it. Once more I repeat it; If I am left at liberty to act I will answer upon my head to put the Order immediately in possession, 1st of most important secrets; 2dly, of a strong preponderance over the Masons of the *Strict Observance*, or, rather, of means absolutely to destroy them; 3dly. of a great influence over the Masons of *Zinnendorf's* system; 4thly. I promise to put the Order in possession of great riches and of great power, and that without making any alterations in our constitutions."

So far from allowing himself to be soothed by these promises, or affrighted by these menaces, which Zwack was to transmit to Ingoldstadt, Weishaupt appeared to become more inflexible. He knew his agents too well; he was certain that Knigge could never bring himself to betray him; and

indeed he must have betrayed himself in denouncing his chief. That adept, without doubt, might have deserted him and carried many of the brethren with him; and Weishaupt would have preferred such extremities rather than have had rebel adepts, particularly competitors, under him. "What care I (he writes) for all that multitude of unmanageable adepts who wish to be guided by no other rule than their fancy?"....At other times he would write, "It is by means of those who will obey me, that *I must perform most astonishing things*. I answer for nothing when I meet with resistance from my adepts; I have foreseen every thing, and I have prepared every thing. Let my whole Order go to rack and ruin; in three years I will answer to restore it, and that to a more powerful state than it is in at present—Obstacles only stimulate my activity. I know how to turn them to my advantage; and when people shall think that I am undone, even then shall I rise stronger than ever. Let that person leave me who thinks he can better himself elsewhere; and time will shew who is mistaken. I know how to find men more docile. I can sacrifice whole provinces, the desertion of a few individuals, therefore, will not alarm me."⁵

Thus firm and constant in his determination to enforce obedience, Weishaupt left Knigge under an interdict; he continued to transmit all orders to him through the medium of his inferiors; he even so far set him at defiance, as to refuse to give him the watchword and the quarterly sign; so that he might almost look upon himself as expelled the Order. If he deigned to write to him, it was in a tone only calculated to add to his humiliation; and Knigge himself actually thought all his intercourse with this overbearing Despot had been broken off when he received a letter still more imperious and injurious than ever. *Philo's* answer is remarkable and I will lay it before my readers; not that I think it important to describe all the jealousies and intestine broils that may very well be called the rogues quarrel, but because it shows how well in the midst of all their disputes these fellows knew each other, and how they drew together when misfortunes of nations were in question; it shows also how they vied with each other, and placed all their merit in the destruction of the altar and the throne, and in having abused the confidence of Princes; such were the mighty deeds on which they grounded their rights of pre-eminence in their dark dens of rebellion.

This letter from Knigge to Weishaupt was written at successive periods during his excursion from Frankfort to Cassel, to Brunswick, and Neuterausen. He begins it, dated at Cassel, 25th Feb. 1783.

"An unforeseen circumstance occasions my writing to you. Read my letter without passion, with impartiality, and as coolly as you are able. I own that, as late even as yesterday, until I had received your Excellency's letter, I little thought we were ever to correspond together again. I am perfectly resolved to wait but for one more answer; and if it is in the same tone that you have lately taken with me, nothing shall hinder me from absolutely breaking off all connection with you. Do not pretend to think that this is an idle threat. I am aware that you can do without me; but I also know, or am

at least willing to think, that your conscience will rise in judgement against you, if you continue without reason to reject a man who has been your most active co-operator. What am I to understand when you say that you can begin the whole over again, and that with new agents? To be sure you may try; but were you really to undertake it, you would cease in my eyes to be that man whom I was willing to believe endowed with prudence. The points to which I wish to call your attention require a general view of our respective situations. Let us address each other freely.

"*You* have injured me; you know it; but you will not own it, because you are afraid of losing your consequence were you to say, I have really behaved shamefully ill to that man. You wish to persuade both yourself and others that you are indifferent to my staying with you or not, for that I am not fit for so great an undertaking; though you well know, that we both have our failings; that men must be taken as they are; that no one would proceed far, if he were to change co-operators every six months. To make short of the matter, you would be sorry to see me abandon you, and found another society; but you are unwilling to appear to stand in need of me.

"Now for *Me*: I have not the vanity to pretend, that a man of superior understanding to my own should so debase himself as to ask me pardon. But I could wish you to reflect on the following circumstances: I am certain that I have acted according to my conscience, and on a solid plan. I defy any person to point out to me those indiscretions by which I am supposed to have done the Order irreparable evil. So far from it, I have engaged men of the most transcendent merit in its service. If in many hundred recruits any are to be found who are not exactly what they ought to be, your own conduct will plead my excuse, since you have entrusted *me* with the government of five provinces, a *person* that you at present upbraid as a heedless giddy young fellow. In short, I have acted as I ought to have done. That you should acknowledge this, I do not desire; but I really wish to see you convinced of it. Our union should be grounded on a reciprocal and boundless confidence. If you are unwilling to grant me yours, remember at least that I am not to be led like a machine. I therefore retire, not through an ill-judged delicacy, but because I can be of no use to you, and that I know persons to whom I can be of great use, and who place unbounded confidence in me.

"Now to the point: *I can inform you, that last night I brought my grand plan to a state of maturity.* Mark me therefore: since I have quitted the government of my provinces, *great things have been the objects of my labors, letters, and conferences. For this week past I have had here (at Cassel) several private interviews with the P—C—of H—C—,*" (Prince Charles of Hesse Cassel, brother-in-law to the King of Denmark). "*All this taken together has enabled me to fulfil the following promises, provided I am treated as I think I am entitled to be.*"

The promises of Knigge are nearly the same as those already mentioned in his letter to *Cato-Zwack*. He adds, however, some few points that are essential; for example, he does not only promise to discover to the Illuminees

the real object of Masonry and of the Rosicrucians, but to make it a part of the higher degrees of Weishaupt's mysteries. This addition is not an indifferent indication on the occult mysteries of Masonry. Without having been a Rosicrucian, Philo-Knigge had long applied to their mysteries before his admission into Illuminism. He had studied them as *Commander* and *Knight Templar*, but had not been able to dive into their last mysteries. It was reserved to Bode, to that man known by all Germany to have been one of their most zealous and learned Masons, to initiate Knigge in these mysteries; and we must hence conclude, that few of the brethren were acquainted with them; but no sooner are they discovered to *Philo*, than he conceives them to be worthy of being blended with those of Weishaupt. These occult mysteries, therefore, of the Rosicrucians can fall little short of the baneful machinations of Illuminism; and all that jealousy that still rages between the Rosicrucians and Illuminees may be said to be only a rivalry for hireling primacy. No longer do I pretend to dispute with Brother Dupe on the existence of these hideous mysteries; on the contrary, I will compliment him on his still having sufficient virtue left to be refused admission; but I will insist on the absolute necessity and duty of abandoning an association that can have nurtured the abominable and impious plots the discovery of which is the cause of so much exultation in these arch-conspirators.

On the same conditions Knigge promises Weishaupt *to discover to the Order certain secrets of Nature, secrets (says he) at once astonishing, marvellous, and productive*, and all this without being miracles.⁶ He also specifies the means by which the Illuminees are to acquire power and wealth; it is *the liberty and a licence to trade in Denmark, Holstein, and other states, with the necessary funds for the enterprize*. In short, his promises against the Rosicrucians is accompanied with the promise of a powerful party against the Jesuits.⁷

This letter remained in his port-folio until his return from Cassel to Brunswick; he there continues it on the 10th of March: "The D——F——of B——, (Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick) has called me to this town to confer with me on different subjects. I will say more of this on a future occasion, let us revert to the most pressing business. I have already said it, and I repeat it again without any disguise, here are my conditions: If you restore me to your confidence, all will be terminated, and this whole business remains a secret between us. From this instant I not only engage to attach myself stronger than ever to the Order, but I also promise and guarantee to it a power of which it can have no conception.

"Should you refuse to rely on me, from that instant our union is dissolved; I erect another society on much stronger bonds. But no threats. Think of it and weigh it coolly."

Knigge also takes time to reflect; and on the 26th of March he continues from Neuterhausen: "I am here again...Once more, I say, *if you know your own interest the world is ours*; if not, may the consequences of your scandalous proceedings fall upon you. But no; I still rely on your prudence, fate leads us admirably. I have great things before me; I have prodigious ones in view.—It

is in your power to partake of them. I have not as yet taken a single step against you. I hope your conduct will give me reason to write to *Athens*, that I had formed a wrong opinion of you."

On the 27th of the same month another postscript in the following terms: "I was just going to send my letter, when I received this Order, which you send me by F... Oh! you ought not to have taken such a step. You wish then to drive me to all extremities? Upon my word you will gain nothing by it. Reflect on the importance, I may venture to say, that I have given to your association. Were I now to discover to certain persons your whole history, and *your principles so dangerous for the world*, and declare that I was obliged to moderate them by every means in my power, who would not shun you? *What is your degree of Epopt in comparison with your means of attaining a good object* (that is to say in comparison to the principle, *all means are good when the end is good?*) What is it, I say, when compared with your scandalous injustice towards Wolter and Levelling? O! what are men? Good God! were you a Jesuit yourself? I tremble to think of it; but should that be the case all Hell should not save you from my claws."

Last postscript of the 31st: "Do not hurry yourself to answer me. *Cato* may transmit certain things to you that may make you change your mind. Take care of yourself *cave ne cadas*. Vengeance is a thing that I shall with great difficulty resist."⁸

All these letters depict Knigge as an adept determined to withdraw himself at length from the despotism of the modern *Spartacus*; not indeed to abandon his plots, but in order to lay the basis of new associations of Conspirators: In the midst of all these broils, it is worthy of remark, that the injured competitor in his letters to Weishaupt and to Zwack intermixes answers and advice on every thing that can tend to propagate the Order. In his postscript of the 26th of March, forgetting on a sudden all his anger against Weishaupt, he informs him, that Brother *Accatius* solicits letters of recommendation and directions to the Brethren of Italy for another adept who is going to second Brother *Hannibal* in his mission to those countries. "This affair (says Knigge) is of the highest importance to the Order; for our man is an excellent Scrutator; and I do assure you that special good news is come relating to the Monks of Italy." Most certainly, discontented Monks of the stamp of Dom Gerles might be found there; but before they could be enrolled an article of the Code which excludes them from the Order was to be dispensed with. As I have already observed, however, Knigge was always less scrupulous than Weishaupt on the article of exceptions. In these same letters he warns the Areopagites to pay particular attention to the affairs of the Order at Vienna; and informs them, that he has important news from that country; and with respect to Poland, though he may be acquainted with no person who could forward the federation, he had *people at least in Livonia*. And in his official reports we find that he had a missionary in that part of Russia, *who from so great a distance perhaps might not send his Quibus Licet exactly and monthly*; but who would labor for the Order perhaps with more success than any of its Apostles.⁹

Such tenderness for the welfare of the Order, and zeal for the propagation of its plots, evidently demonstrates that Knigge, so far from abandoning it, expected to re-assume his former rank. It appears still clearer in the letter he wrote to *Cato* by the very same post, by which he had sent all his menaces to Weishaupt: "I have great views indeed for our Order, and that makes me forget all the injuries I have received from Spartacus. I do not wish him to own that he is in the wrong, but only that he should know that the fault lies with him." The letter ends by constituting *Cato* judge of the contest.¹⁰ Weishaupt needed no more to convince him that this warfare would terminate to his advantage. He did not wish to lose *Philo*, but still less could he bear him as a rival. "If *Philo* (Weishaupt says to Zwack) will return to me, and confess that he is in the wrong, he will find me such as I formerly was in his regard. But for your part do not show the least eagerness to reclaim him. I wish to prove to him that I can do without him; his vanity must not be flattered; he wants to be entreated; and it is exactly for that reason that he should not be entreated.—If he has the good of the cause at heart, he will return of his own accord, and I will receive him with open arms."¹¹

The *good of the cause*, as Weishaupt calls it (that is, the propagation and triumph of Illuminism with all its impious plots), was evidently as dear to Knigge as to himself. This mutual bias to crime reconciled them together again, at least, for a space of time sufficient to acquire for Illuminism the greater part of that authority which Knigge had promised to the Areopagites. It is true, that he tells us he had obtained his dismission, and an honorable testimony of his services. It may be a fact that he received his dismission, as he says, on the express conditions, that he would never undertake any thing detrimental to the interests or *plans* of the Illuminees; that he would keep a profound silence with respect to the secrets of the Brethren; that he would never do any thing that could commit the superiors, and not even so much as name them;¹² but certain it is, that the date coincides with the time of the discoveries made at Munich, which must have induced him to take such precautions as he judged necessary to avoid being implicated with the other chiefs of the Illuminees. He declares that he received his *cong  * on the first of June 1784, and the first decrees issued by the Elector of Bavaria against Secret Societies bear date of the twenty-second of the same month. Four months after we see *Philo*-Knigge mentioned by Weishaupt as an adept, without the least allusion to his retreat, and this may create some doubt at least as to the date. Whatever may have been the case, fourteen months elapsed from the time of their grand disputes, till that when Knigge declares he broke off all connection with the Illuminees. Hereafter we shall see what is to be understood by this pretended dereliction of his former Brethren. It is however certain, that during those fourteen months, he but too well entitled himself to the gratitude of the Sect by the new services he rendered, and more particularly by his intrigues with Bode, by means of which he consummated Weishaupt's plan of confederation or of intrusion in all the Lodges of Germany.

The grand obstacle to these plans was the jealousy of the Rosicrucians, of the Brethren of the *Strict Observance*, and of the *Philaletes*, calling themselves the Theosophical Illuminees. But the acquisition of Bode; Knigge's frequent visits to their Highnesses the Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick and the Prince Charles of Hesse-Cassel; the manner in which he imposed on these two chiefs of German Masonry; the influence acquired by *Philo* through the means of Bode over the Commissaries who were named at Wilhelmsbaden to frame the laws, are circumstances more than sufficient to account for his success in spite of such numerous opponents. When Bode was thoroughly convinced that Illuminism, so far from being an invention of Jesuits and Priests, was no other than a most determined conspiracy against Princes and the Priesthood, which he equally hated; when he beheld the means of it developing themselves in the degree of *Epoet* and of *Regent*, he then had no other view than to perform the promise he had made to Knigge, *to dedicate his life entirely to the service of the Order, and particularly to have its interests at heart in the framing of the new Code*. Never was promise more religiously kept, nor attended with greater success. With respect to those Brethren whose antique mysteries perpetually recalled to their minds Equality and Liberty, nothing could be more seducing than Knigge's circular letter on *Elective* or *Elective* Masonry. Many Lodges had of their own accord acceded to his federation. Bode introduced its laws into the *new Masonic Ritual*. It was on seeing these laws that the Mason who best foresaw their consequences exclaims, in the bitterness of his heart: "Oh my Brethren! At what point shall I begin, or where shall I end, when I speak to you of that Bode known among the Illuminees by the name of *Amelius*? Judge, my Brethren, of the important, I would say disastrous services he went to render them; he, who has been in habits of intimacy with so many of our Brethren; he who had taken so great a lead in most of our general meetings; he who, under an affectation of good nature and of German uprightness, concealed a heart replete with the most heinous impiety, and a frantic enthusiasm for Naturalism; he again who had taken offence at the Brethren of the *Strict Observance* because they had not satiated his ambition. What an acquisition in all respects was this man for the Illuminees!—His first efforts were directed against us. He acted where Knigge could not gain admittance. *It was through his means that the Illuminees gained their ascendancy in the new system that was to have been established at Wilhelmsbaden; that they gained admittance into our Directories; and that they succeeded in fraternizing with the greater part of our Brethren of the Strict Observance*. His Insinuator Knigge had left him no alternative but to bring over Freemasonry to this unfortunate alliance, or to crush the Brotherhood. To the astonishment and grief of every true Mason, it was by the combined efforts of Bode and Knigge, that the greater part of the Lodges throughout Germany were tainted and infected with this baneful Illuminism."¹³

I often meet with similar avowals and lamentations in the different letters and memorials that I have received from German Masons, heretofore zealous for the honour of their Brotherhood, but now lamenting the intrusion of the

Bavarian pest among them. Some few Lodges, however, held out against it. That of Berlin, called *of the Three Globes*, in 1783, published a circular letter, anathematizing all Brethren who should pretend to degrade Free-masonry so as to transform it into a society of men conspiring against their God and their country. Whether this Lodge had not been initiated into the last mysteries of the Rosicrucians and other conspiring degrees, or whether this anathema was but a sham, the circular letter had but little effect. The intrusion continued, and became so general, that the illuminizing Sect in its instructions to the *Directing Illuminees* makes use of the following formidable expressions:—"Of all the legitimate Lodges in Germany, there is ONLY ONE that has not coalesced with our Superiors, and this Lodge has been obliged to suspend its labours."¹⁴

This declaration does not imply that the greater number of the Brethren were already illuminized, but only denotes that the Superiors, whether *Masters*, *Wardens*, or *Treasurers*, of almost every Lodge had entered into the federation with Weishaupt.—But what an awful aspect does this subterraneous power present! A multitude of emissaries and agents dispersed throughout the tenebrous recesses of Masonry. The Superiors once gained over, the Lodges would make but a feeble and short resistance.

The greater part of these successes were to be attributed to *Philo-Knigge*; neither did he hide those pretensions that could indicate the rival.—Weishaupt could not brook the most distant appearance of rivalry; new contests arose between the two chiefs. Knigge at length abandoned, or pretended to abandon, the Order. It does not appear that Weishaupt showed the least regret. His power seemed to be built on foundations that could not be shaken by any storm:—it was no longer confined to a corner of Germany.¹⁵ The Danube and the Rhine could no longer bound it. In the North and the East he had his emissaries, in Holland, Poland, and Livonia.¹⁶ His apostles in the South had already advanced from Milan to Venice.¹⁷ On the West he was beginning his attacks on France by the way of Strasbourg.¹⁸ But just at this period was preparing that storm which in the annals of the Sect shall be called the Third Epoch.

1. Original Writings, Vol. II. *Philo's bericht uber jonien; Dimeh*. January 1783.—If by *Deductions* the account of the contributions to be deducted for the *Grand Observance*, and afterward to be delivered over to the Illuminees, be not meant, I do not understand the meaning of them. But Bode reserves to himself the discretionary power of letting other persons participate of them; that is to say, he wishes to serve the Illuminees without appearing to have abandoned his former Brethren. (See *Vol. III of these Memoirs*, P. 154 [p. 465, Ed.].)
2. 11th January, 1783.
3. Extract from the Circular Letter, Original Writings, Vol. II. Part. II. Sect. VI.
4. Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 20.
5. Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 8, to *Cato*.
6. Erstaunlich und einträglich, obgleich keine wunder.
7. Eine mächtige parthey gegen jesuiten.

8. Original Writings, Vol. II. Lett. 1, 2, and 3, from *Philo*.
9. Aber er wird würken wie noch keiner gewürkt hat.
10. Worüber sie, bester *Cato*! Richter seyn mögen.
11. Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 24.
12. Seine obern weder zu nennen noch zu compromittiren.
13. Discourse of a Master on the ultimate fate of Freemasonry.
14. Degree of Directing Illuminee, Sect. 3, No. 5.
15. That the reader may form a clear and precise idea of the manner in which these different Lodges and Illuminees on their several missions corresponded with their chief, I think it right to subjoin the *Geographical and Political Chart* of the Sect, such as it was drawn out by Knigge in the Original Writings. I know this plate only comprehends Germany, and that without the Austrian Provinces, "because (says Knigge) *the Brethren of those Provinces have petitioned to have a separate National Director.*" But every reader can apply a similar one to any other state. To complete it, I have added Weishaupt in direct communication with the Areopagites, and the latter with the National Directors.—A very slight inspection will suffice to show, how instructions, communications, &c. pass to and from the General, down to the Scotch Directories, and from the latter to the lowest individual of Illuminism.
16. *Philo's Bericht*.
17. See Juridical Depositions made at Munich.
18. Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Let. 23, to *Cato*, 28 Jan. 1783.

CHAP. VII.

Third Epoch of Illuminism.

Discovery of the Sect.

IT was not without reason that Weishaupt had expressed his apprehensions as to the precipitate manner in which Knigge had admitted so many candidates to the mysteries of the Sect: on the other hand, Knigge might with equal reason upbraid Weishaupt with want of prudence in recommending to the adepts such books as those published under the name of Boulanger; and thus disclosing his Atheism previous to the last mysteries.¹ But success had so emboldened Weishaupt, that he kept no farther reserve on the score of religion, even with his Minerval scholars; and so early as the year 1781, the court of Bavaria entertained some suspicious of this new Sect. It had even ordered certain inquiries to be made; but the Illuminees had art enough to baffle these inquests.² Lest, however, any inquiries should at any future time take place, Weishaupt bethought himself of making the Elector the tutelary adept of his conspiracies. "I am of opinion (would he write to his Areopagites) that, in order to strengthen ourselves, you should send a deputation to the Elector, to offer him the Protectorate of the Eclectic Lodges. The Brethren *Ulysses*, *Apollo*, and some others of the most distinguished members, even *Celsus* for instance, might be deputed for this purpose. Should the Prince accept it, we shall be effectually skreened from any future persecution, and nobody will then be afraid of joining you, or of frequenting your Lodges."³

The reader may easily judge how such a deputation would have been received by the Elector, when he is informed of the manner in which he had formerly received a similar proposition while residing at Manheim. One of his ministers at that time, under a far more plausible pretence, proposed to him to call to his court the most famous Philosophers of the day, and to grant pensions to these pretended great men, after the example of Lewis XIV, who had been the protector of the learned men of his age. The glory of such an undertaking seemed at first to flatter the Prince; but on consulting men of real learning he soon perceived that such a measure would only end in multiplying a Sect equally inimical to their God and their country; and Charles Theodore would no longer hear of the Protectorship of Philosophism. This anecdote was

sent to me by a person who heard it from the very minister that had made the proposition to the Elector.

It is not understood how the court of Munich acquired its first knowledge respecting Illuminism; the information it received was not sufficiently explicit indeed to describe the spirit of the Sect, but it gave a general idea of the danger of secret societies. On the 22d of June 1784, His Electoral Highness published an Edict absolutely forbidding all *secret communities, societies, and confraternities*, other than those by law established. The uncontaminated Masons shut up their Lodges; the illuminized Masons, who had many of their adepts about the court, thought themselves strong enough to bid defiance to the Edicts, and continued their meetings. A work published by Mr. Babo, a Professor at Munich, entitled *The first warning on Free-masonry*, began to disclose more clearly the plans of the new adepts. Soon after the Count Joseph Törring made a more vigorous attack on them. The Illuminees not only wrote apologies in answer to these attacks, but set many other engines to work, the artifice of which cannot be better described than by Weishaupt's own letters to his adepts.

"Listen for a moment to my advice," he writes on the 18th Dec. 1784. "If any inquiry be set on foot; I am of opinion that none of the Chiefs should suffer themselves to be led into the detail and particulars of the Order; and they must positively declare, that no power on earth should force them to make any discoveries excepting to the Elector personally; the two degrees of the higher mysteries should then be submitted to him. At least such shall be the line of conduct which I will hold, if ever I am called upon. You will then see what a happy turn our affairs will take. You have read what Brother D...thought of the first degree. I am certain the Elector will view it in the same light. I shall place all my hopes in the goodness of my cause. Boldly and without the least apprehension, I can declare beforehand, that if I am to fall it shall be in an honourable manner, though it were to cost me my head. Deport yourselves in the same manner, and instil courage into the others. This is an admirable opportunity for showing your magnanimity; do not let it pass by without avail. I have mentioned my plan for the Elector to Brother *Cromwell*, and he augurs fortunately from it:—but he very well knows that such a measure will only be resorted to in the last extremity."

What an extraordinary mode of defense must this appear to those who do not know that these two degrees which he intended to show to the Elector were the corrected ones, such as he had prepared for Princes and certain candidates who would have been disgusted with them in their real state. Sometimes the whole of that part relating to the mysteries, and the discourses of the Hierophants, were retrenched, and nothing but the idle ceremonial preserved. A second letter of Weishaupt's to his Areopagites dated the 2d February 1785, will more clearly explain the whole of this artifice. "My Brethren (he says), the step you are going to take is proper, and such as the circumstances require. The Memorial of our *Menelaus* (WERNER, Counsellor at Munich) is very fine and very judicious. I only wish you to add, that you

will show your degrees to nobody but to the Elector; and those that may be submitted to his inspection are — 1st, The *Novice*; 2dly, The *Minerval*; 3dly, The *Minor Illuminee*. [*Nota bene*, that the words *dummster mōnch* (stupid monk) are to be changed into *dummster mensch* (stupid men)]. 4thly, The *Major Illuminee*, entire, except these words, which you will efface: *the Priests and bad princes are in our way*. 5thly, The *Directing Illuminee*; but in this degree you will only show the ceremonial of the reception, and my discourse; *not a word of the rest*. 6th, The degree of *Priest* or *Epopt*; here you will only *show our instructions that relate to sciences*; and you will *carefully read those over, lest any allusion or reference to the rest should subsist*.

“As all the packets for *Ephesus* (Ingolstadt) are opened, I plainly see that I am the person at whom they aim. To-morrow I will write to *Alfred* (the minister Seinsheim); and that letter will inform the court beforehand how I mean to behave on this occasion. Openly declare to the Elector, *that the Order is a produce of his own states, and that I am the author of it*. Then the whole affair will turn upon me; but I am much mistaken if they will proceed to a personal inquest until they have further proofs, which can only be acquired by opening the letters. Show yourselves great, firm, and undaunted. *My conduct will prove to you what I can be*. In the instruction for the degree of *Epopt* take great care of the part that *relates to History*; leave nothing that can lead to the *discovery of the theft committed on the Archives*.”

All this artifice, however, proved useless. The court had acquired sufficient proofs to take such steps against the hero of the Sect as prudence might require. A few days after he had written these instructions to his Areopagites, he was dismissed from his chair of Professor of Laws in the University of Ingolstadt; only, however, as famous *Master of Lodges*, and as disobedient to the Edict suppressing all secret societies. The mysteries of his Lodge had not yet transpired; it was only known, that several members of his Illuminism, disgusted with his doctrines or his plans, had abandoned his Lodges as early as 1783. Among others were to be found COSANDEY, a Priest, and the Abbé RENNER, both of them Professors of the *Litterae humaniores* at Munich. But, great as might be the horror which they had conceived of what they had seen of the Sect without having attained the grand mysteries, it does not appear that they had as yet taken any steps against it; at least they had not given such details as might direct the arm of the law. On the 30th March 1785, however, they received a summons from His Electoral Highness, and from the Bishop of Freysinguen, to appear before the Tribunal of the Ordinary, and there to declare whatever they might have observed in the Sect of Illuminees contrary to religion and good morals. Nobody, even then, had the least idea that the conspiracy was pointedly directed against the government. Messrs. Cosandey and Renner made their depositions, the one on the 3d the other on the 7th of April following. I must give extracts from both, though perfectly agreeing with each other. That made by Mr. Cosandey is more ample on the principles of the Illuminees, while Mr. Renner descends more particularly into their constitution and the education of their pupils. I

shall therefore begin by an extract from the latter; and then revert to that made by Mr. Cosandey.

*Juridical Deposition made by the Professor RENNER
on the Illuminees.*

After having stated the orders he had received to appear before the Tribunal, and the subject on which he was to give evidence, Mr. Renner begins by declaring that

“The Order of the Illuminees must be distinguished from that of the Free-masons. But this distinction is a secret to mere Masons, as well as to Illuminees of the Minerval degree. I was myself in the dark respecting it, and, after a long trial, they thought proper to advance me to the degree of *Minor Illuminee*, the first degree in which they take the name of *Illuminee*. I was even constituted Superior over a small number of the Brethren.”

Here the deponent, who thought he was to become a Mason on his first entrance into the Sect, learns that he is not yet one; and tells us, that many of the Brethren had complained heavily that they had not been admitted as yet to the *Intermediary Degrees*. He himself is admitted to them, and does not find them satisfactory: but he adds, “The advantage I reaped from them was, that I discovered the benefits which the Order derived from Free-masonry. The Illuminees fear nothing so much as to be known under that name. They assume the cloak of Masonry, only because they believe themselves more secure when masked under the appearance of an association that is looked upon as insignificant.—The Masonic Lodges, according to their expression, only contain the *dross of the people* (der tross von leuten) or the bulk of the army, among whom a few persons may be found, that may look upon themselves as very happy, after long and severe trials, to be secretly admitted into the sanctuary of the Order. All the other Free-masons, Apprentices, Fellow-crafts, and Masters, are to content themselves with idle ceremonies, and remain under the yoke, either because their eyes are not strong enough to bear the light, or because their love for the Order, and their secrecy, two essential requisites in every adept, cannot be sufficiently depended on. When once they are condemned to linger in obscurity, they can never have hopes of rising to the mysteries; and this is expressed by the superiors in the following sentence, *Ex inferno nulla est Redemptio*.

“Meantime, these Masons, without knowing it, are under the direction of the Illuminees, who reap great advantages from their reputation and their riches. These men (say the Superiors) are sufficiently recompensed by being admitted to converse with the adepts of light, and to learn enough from such conversations to appear enlightened to the profane.

“The Illuminees, who at first only show themselves under the appearance of a literary society, gave themselves the following constitution: Their Order is subdivided into different classes, called *degrees*, because the light expands itself according to these classes.—The first degree is a sort of Noviciate, though

every person reported as *insinuated*, and recommended by some member of the Order as worthy of being admitted, must have been prepared and instructed to a certain point by his Insinuator or Recruiter. It is a constant rule in the Order, that every Candidate should undergo a year's trial, that his Insinuator may observe him accurately, according to the regulations of the Order, and in a *Quibus Licet* draw an exact picture of his person, his character, his talents, and his conduct. If the Candidate is judged to be worthy, he is admitted into the class of *Preparation*.—In my time there were two of this nature, called *Churches*. Each was directed by four men, forming what was called the *Magistracy*. They were the *Superior*, the *Censor*, the *Treasurer*, and the *Secretary*; and all these were adepts of higher degrees. We held at least one meeting every month, at which all the members of the same *Church* were to attend, to give their Superiors a sealed letter directed *Quibus Licet*, *Soli*, or *Primo*, containing an exact statement of the conduct, discourse, &c. of those whom they had *observed* during the month.

“No member is dispensed from these *Quibus Licets*, which ascend from Degree to Degree, and are only opened by those who have a right to read them. The other occupations of the meeting were, after some ceremonies, to read the statutes, a few passages from the ancient Philosophers, and a discourse on various subjects, composed by the different members in rotation. As the Brethren in general do not like religion, the greater liberty the writer uses on that subject, he is the more applauded, and acquires a higher reputation of being enlightened. Sometimes, however, the presence of certain brethren, either feeble as yet, or not to be entirely depended upon, cause the Superiors at such lectures to give signs of apparent satisfaction. It would be a violent breach of their policy to give way to intemperate language, and to express the principles of the Order too openly, as each member might look upon such talk as part of their system.

“To avoid suspicion, and to attain their ends more certainly, they hold weekly meetings, whence all ceremony and constraint is discarded. Here the pupils hold disputations among themselves on all sorts of subjects. It is on these occasions that the superiors, and those who have imbibed the true principles of the Order, sneer at what they call *Religious prejudices*; for in their language every thing that can obstruct their views are *prejudices*. It is then that by means of the most seducing subterfuges they represent their principles in such poignant language, that the most timid, encouraged by their example, and purified from all dross and religious prejudice, become perfectly like the rest. He that can withstand such artifice is a man lost in the eyes of the Order.

“That which made the greatest impression on me, among the Illuminees, was certainly their method of binding down their adepts and subduing their minds. They extoll the greatness and power of the Order; they speak of its dignity with the utmost respect; they stun you with the most magnificent promises, and assure you of the protection of great personages ready to do every thing for the advancement of its members at the recommendation of the Order; till at length each pupil really considers, or appears to consider, the

interest of Illuminism as his own, and views all the propositions and orders he receives from his superiors as duties which he has to fulfill. Should a pupil under this idea have the misfortune to declare, in a *Quibus Licet*, a *Primo*, or a *Soli*, some misconduct of his own, or some secret that he has been entrusted with or that he has extorted from any body, the unhappy confidant is lost to himself, for he thenceforth belongs wholly to the Sect. When once they have thus tied him down, they assume a very different tone with him. They care very little about him; 'He may abandon us (they say), we stand in no farther need of him.'—I do not think that any one has yet dared or will ever dare to show the least discontent, much less a desire to quit the Order; especially if he reflects on the dictatorial threat, *It shall be in vain for any prince to pretend to save him who shall dare to betray us.*⁴

"They select their pupils with great caution, and only entice into their Order those whom they think can be useful to the attainment of their ends. Statesmen, persons distinguished by rank or fortune, archivists, counsellors, secretaries, clerks, professors, abbés, preceptors, physicians, and apothecaries, are always welcome candidates to the Order.

"The degree of *Major Illuminee* is, if I may make use of such an expression, a school in which the candidate is trained like a true *Bloodhound*."⁵

Here the deponent relates their method of watching their adepts and of describing both them and the prophane. He also mentions some few of the thousand or fifteen hundred questions that are to be answered on the character, the habits, &c. of any person whom an adept is ordered to scrutinize. He then continues:

"This method of enlightening the pupils always goes on increasing in every degree. A Brother may know those of his class and those of an inferior one; but, unless his Superiors have conferred on him the commission of Director, Visitor, or Spy, all other adepts are, in their language, *invisible* to him. This, without doubt, is the point that constitutes the great strength of the Order. The chiefs, by this method, watch an inferior without being known; they know how far he is devoted to the Order and true to his secrecy; and a point of still greater importance is, that in case of any explosion (of which they have been long apprehensive), and on all occasions, they can support the brethren without any one entertaining the least suspicion of their being connected with the system, since they are unknown even to the Brethren, and of course to the prophane.

"*There are men, and they may be easily discerned, who defend the Order (of Illuminism) with great warmth, though they do not declare themselves to belong to it.* Such conduct certainly deserves a little animadversion. Either these defenders belong to the Order, or they do not; if they do not, can they pretend to defend that which they neither know nor have any possibility of knowing. If they belong to the Order, that very circumstance renders them unworthy of belief, though they should adduce as proofs some few works thrown out to baffle any attempt to investigate the plan of the Order, or should protest on their words of honour when they speak so highly in its praise. When a person

comes seriously to consider the impossibility of knowing any thing of Illuminism but by being a member of it, and when we compare the many advantages derived from their *invisibility*; if we should be tempted to draw any conclusions on these defenders, we might (and that without reasoning ill) suppose they belonged themselves to the Order, and to that particular species of adept which the Illuminees term *invisible*.”⁶

After having thus given as much of the general plan of the Illuminees as he could know without having been admitted to the higher degrees, the Deponent comes to the principles which the Superiors wish to inculcate in their pupils; and in the first place he mentions the following, of which they have made a sort of proverb:

Tous les Rois et tous les Pretres
Sont des Fripons et des traitres.⁷

With regard to *Suicide*, the Superiors preach to their brethren *to prepare them for more tempestuous times*. “They have the art of representing suicide as so easy, and so advantageous in certain circumstances, that I should not be surprized (says Mr. Renner) to see some adept carried away by the lure of a certain voluptuousness which they pretend to be peculiar to suicide; and they even pretend to prove their assertions by examples.

“But of all their detestable principles the most dangerous in my judgement is this: *The end justifies the means*. In consequence of this morality, and ACCORDING TO THEIR CONSTANT PRACTICE, the mere suspicion that a man will at any future period be in a position to obstruct the views of the Order will be a sufficient reason to calumniate him, however virtuous he may be. They will cabal to drive one man out of his place; they will poison another; a third they will assassinate; in short, they will do any thing to attain their ends. Suppose the crime of the Illuminee should be discovered, he always has the *Patet-exitus* as a resource. *It is only a ball through the head*, and he escapes the rigour and ignominy of the law.”

Mr. Renner next alludes to what the Sect calls its *Moral Government* or *Commission of Morals*, or its *Fiscal*, “This comission is a college formed of the most able and honest men, that is, in their language; of men chiefly belonging to the class of *Invisibles*, and who, enjoying the confidence of the sovereign, would, according to the views of their commission, inform him of the morals and honesty of each of his subjects; but as probity is necessary to fulfill the divers stations of the state, each person should be prepared beforehand for the office he is to occupy. An admirable plan! But should they ever accomplish it, should their rule ever be adopted, what would become of all those men who did not belong to Illuminism? Happily, the plan is discovered in time; otherwise they might have verified what a Superior just returned from visiting a Superior of a higher degree had foretold: *All the Posts once properly filled in succession to each other, should the Order be composed of but six hundred members, no power on earth could resist them.*”

Mr. Renner finishes by declaring, that he is unacquainted with the ultimate object of the Order; that the Superiors were perpetually talking of that object, but never mentioned what it was. He believe it to be of the utmost consequence; but he leaves every one free to conceive, after what he has said, how that object can accord with the civil and religious duties. He affirms on oath the particulars contained in the above declaration, and which he leaves written and signed by his own hand.

*Juridical Depositions of Mr. COSANDEY,
3d April, 1785.*

My reason for placing Mr. Renner's deposition first was, because he is more explicit on the government of Illuminism; while Mr. Cosandey chiefly dwells on the principles of the Sect. After having shown in a few words how Free-masonry serves as a cloak to the Sect, how the candidate is gradually fettered in the bonds of the Superiors, and how dangerous must be a servitude to men who from principle wish to appear idlers though in the most active pursuits; he proceeds with the unfortunate *Minerval* to the degrees of *Minor* and *Major Illuminee*. "It is here (says he) that the pupil is a little further initiated into the systems of the Order. Light, however, is imparted to him but slowly, and with all possible precautions. He is here made acquainted with a greater number of Adepts and Under-Superiors; but the Chiefs always remain *invisible*.

"In order to be advanced to the higher degrees the candidate must, in the language of the Sect, have got rid of all religious prejudices, or at least he must assume the appearance of one who has so done when in the presence of his Superiors; as no *religionist* (such is their expression) can be admitted to the higher degrees.⁸

"The most excellent Superiors are the persons that give the ton in all these degrees. Their orders, their maxims, their opinions, their doctrines, are the soul, the standard, the spirit, the main spring of this institution. The lower class of Superiors and Chiefs, are cunning knaves, and black and systematic villains, or sometimes misled enthusiasts, spurred on and abominably deluded by the others. As a proof, I will relate some of their principles in the form of proverbs, which are never given in writing, but are perpetually inculcated in the adepts by these Superiors.

"I. *When nature lays too heavy a burthen upon us, it is to suicide that we are to apply for relief.* PATET EXITUS. An Illuminee, they would tell us, should make away with himself rather than betray his Order; and they also represent a secret voluptuousness to be inherent to suicide.

"II. *Nothing through reason, every thing through passion,* is their second maxim. The end, the propagation, and the advantage of their Order, supplies in the minds of the adepts the place of God, country, and conscience. Every thing that obstructs the progress of the Order is the blackest treason."

"III. *The end sanctifies the means.* Thus calumny, poison, assassination, treason, revolt, wickedness, and any thing that can lead to this end, is laudable.

"IV. *No Prince can save the man who dares to betray us.* Things then are carried on in this Order that are adverse to the interests of Princes; things that from their importance might be discovered to Princes; such a discovery (in the language of the Sect) would be the blackest treason; and the traitor is beforehand threatened with vengeance. They must also have means of destroying their accusers with impunity; and such means are easily surmized.

"V. *All Kings and all Priests are rascals and traitors;* and in another place, *All Priests are knaves.* The total annihilation of religion, of the love of the country, and of princes, enters into the plans of the Illuminees, because (say they) religion, as well as love of the country, and of princes, restrains the affections of men to particular states, and diverts them from the more extensive views of Illuminism.

"Among their plans I observed one which they called their *moral Empire or Government.* This government, which would throw the whole force of every state into the hands of their *college or council* of Illuminism, would *without any appeal to the prince,* name to all promotions, and grant or refuse all the favors of the state. By these means they would be entrusted with the absolute right of definitively pronouncing on the honesty or the capability of each individual. By these means too all the prophane would be discarded from the court and other employments; and, to use their expression, a holy legion would surround the prince, master him, and dictate his edicts according to their own will and pleasure. This Regimen or Moral College, also called the Commission of Morals, or the *Fiscal* (being a sort of exchequer chamber for the government of the people), would invest the Sect with a most formidable despotic power over the four quarters of the globe, and would reduce sovereigns to the despicable state of mere phantoms, or of crowned slaves."

This College or *Moral Regimen,* will occur again in another juridical deposition; and I will then explain how it served to veil the future projects of the Sect for the disorganization and absolute destruction of all society whatever. Mr. Cosandey concludes with saying, that he is ready to affirm on oath the truth of all that is contained in the above declaration.

These depositions, notwithstanding their importance, seemed to make but little impression. Whether the tribunals were beset by, or in great part composed of Illuminees, or not, I cannot know; but they affected to treat these declarations as containing nothing either very serious or menacing; or whether the removal of Weishaupt had made them view the Sect as destroyed, and the conspiracy as counteracted, I do not pretend to say; but certain it is, that at length Heaven by its thunderbolts warns nations and their rulers of the plots contriving against them, of the extent of which plots they were ignorant; neither had they surmized the baneful activity of the conspirators. Dismissed from his public functions at Ingolstadt, Weishaupt had taken refuge at Ratisbon. This town becomes his new *Eleusis,* his center of mysteries; all his plots had followed him thither; and so far was he from looking upon them as baffled, that he pursued them with redoubled ardour. Vengeance had rendered him more terrible from the recesses of his new retreat; and now, entirely

liberated from all public duties, he gives up his whole time to the preparation and drilling of emissaries, and to teaching them the means of sapping, when on their different missions, the foundations of the altar and the throne, of civil society, and of all governments whatever.

Among his adepts was one LANZ, an apostate priest. Weishaupt designed him as the person to carry his mysteries and conspiracies into Silesia. His mission was already fixed, and Weishaupt was giving him his last instructions, when a thunderbolt from Heaven struck the apostate dead, and that *by the side of Weishaupt*.⁹ The Brethren, in their first fright, had not recourse to their ordinary means for diverting the papers of the deceased adept from the inspection of the magistrates. The perusal of some of his papers furnished new proofs; and, being transmitted to the Court of Bavaria, induced it to take the determination of following up the discoveries made in the depositions of Messrs. Cosandey and Renner.

The enquiries made, chiefly related to those who were known to have had connexions with Weishaupt at Ingolstadt. The adept FISCHER, first judge and Burgo-master of that town, and the Librarian DREXL, were banished. The Baron FRAUENBERG and fifteen other of Weishaupt's pupils were expelled from the university. But neither their punishment nor the circumstance of the adept being struck by lightning, could raise any symptoms of remorse in the mind of their master. The following letter to Fischer may serve as a specimen of the manner in which he wished to support their courage, stimulate their enthusiasm, and infuse all the rage and vengeance of his plots into their minds.

"*I salute you, my dear martyr;*" it is thus he begins his letter. He then reminds his pretended martyr of that passage in Seneca where the just man struggling with adversity is represented as the sight most worthy of Heaven: He then continues: "Am I to congratulate you, or am I to condole with you on your misfortunes? I know you too well to indulge in the latter sentiment—Receive then my most sincere congratulations on seeing you among those to whom posterity will render justice, and whose constancy in the defence of truth it cannot fail to admire—You are triply and quadruply more dear to me, now that you share my fate and that of so many other magnanimous persons. I leave it to your prudence to decide whether you will commence a prosecution against those who have been guilty of such an abominable injustice against you; or whether, submitting to your exile without murmur or complaint, you will wait for better times. You shall not want; I and the Brethren will provide for your expenses. *The public papers also shall represent the whole of this business in its proper light.* Drexel in the mean time will retire to Brunn. *Let laughs laugh, and our enemies rejoice. Their joy ere long shall be converted into tears. Look upon yourself as happy to suffer with the better part of the nation.* If I have the power of giving my benediction to any body, I give you mine with both my hands. *O be thou blessed, most worthy and most constant of my Heroes....* I am sorry that all this has happened just at the time when I am setting out for the banks of the Rhine. I depart next month and shall not return till a few months hence. *In the mean time I shall not be idle; and it is not*

without a reason that I go to that country. Acquaint the Brethren of it. Be always firm and constant. No dishonour can attach to you; continue as you have begun, and your enemies will be obliged to admire you. Adieu, learn to appreciate and feel your own greatness. Your enemies are little indeed in their triumph.—(Ratisbon this 9th April 1785).

“P. S. If you want money I will have proper measures taken at Munich to supply you.”

This letter was either intercepted or fell into the Elector's hands by some other means;¹⁰ and he there saw how dangerous a man this must be who could thus infuse his enthusiasm into the minds of his Conspirators. A secret commission was named to receive further depositions. The aulic counsellor UTZSCHNEIDER and Mr. GRÜNBERGER of the Academy of Sciences, who were known to have abandoned the Order of the Illuminees about two years before, were summoned to make their depositions. The Priest Cosandey was called upon once more. The declaration made in common by these three Gentlemen will recall to the minds of the readers many of the particulars already stated in the foregoing declarations, and in the Code of the Illuminees, with respect to the means employed by the Sect, for making themselves masters of the Masonic Lodges; for appropriating to themselves their funds, to provide for the expence of their travellers; and for multiplying the number of their adepts.—The same method for the scrutators is observable, the same oaths, almanacks, and cypher for the first degrees. The deponents had abandoned the Order before they were admitted to the higher degrees. The principles that had been laid down to them are on that account the more remarkable. I shall, therefore, translate that part of their evidence as being of the utmost consequence. Some persons may be of opinion, that to have simply stated the perfect coincidence of this new declaration with those already seen would have sufficed; but they should consider that repetitions of objects of such importance may be insisted on by many readers, because the proofs are strengthened by the number, the character, and concordance of the witnesses.

*The Juridical Deposition made in common by the
Aulic Counsellor UTZSCHNEIDER, the Priest
COSANDEY, and the Academician GRÜNBERGER,
on the 9th of Sept. 1785.*

“The object of the first degrees of Illuminism is at once to train their young men, and to be informed of every thing that is going forward by a system of *espionage*.¹¹ The Superiors aim at procuring from their inferiors diplomatic acts, documents, and original writings. With pleasure they see them commit any treasons or treacherous acts, because they not only turn the secrets betrayed to their own advantage, but thereby have it in their power to keep the traitors in a perpetual dread, lest, if they every showed any signs of stubbornness, their malefactions should be made known.—*Oderint dum metuant*, let them hate, provided they fear, is the principle of their government.

"The Illuminees from these first degrees are educated in the following principles:

I. "The Illuminee who wishes to rise to the highest degree must be free from all religion;¹² for a *religionist* (as they call every man who has any religion) will never be admitted to the highest degrees."

II. The *Patet Exitus*, or the doctrine on Suicide, is expressed in the same terms as in the preceding deposition.

III. "*The end sanctifies the means.* The welfare of the Order will be a justification for calumnies, poisonings, assassinations, perjuries, treasons, rebellions; in short, for all that the *prejudices* of men lead them to call crimes.

IV. "One must be more submissive to the Superiors of Illuminism, than to the sovereigns or magistrates who govern the people; and he that gives the preference to sovereigns or governors of the people is useless to us.¹³ Honor, life, and fortune, all are to be sacrificed to the Superiors. The governors of nations are despots when they are not directed by us.—They can have no authority over us, who are free men."¹⁴

The Marquis of Costanza used to say, "that there ought to be but two Princes in Germany—These Princes should be Illuminees, and so surrounded and led by our adepts, that none of the prophane could approach their persons. The greater and lesser offices of the state should be solely entrusted to members of our Order; and the advantage of the Order should be attended to, though in direct opposition to the interests of the Prince.¹⁵ Sovereigns should also pass through the lower degrees of the Order, and they should only be admitted to the higher degrees when they properly apprehend the holy designs of the Order,—which are no other than to deliver the people from the bondage of their Princes, Nobles, and Priests; to establish an equality of stations and of religion; and to render men both free and happy. Should we ever have six hundred Illuminees in Bavaria, nothing could resist us."

I promised to make a few reflections on this article; and to those persons I address them, who would immediately lay hold of it to prove that the Illuminees, so far from wishing to annihilate every government and civil society itself, had no other view than to re-unite Germany under one and the same government.¹⁶ Most undoubtedly such views were held out to the deponents in their lower classes; but let it be remembered, that none of them had been admitted to the higher mysteries. It is in the degree of *Epopt* that the designs of the Order for the total destruction of *Civil Society* are manifested. There the illuminizing Hierophant no longer says, that Germany ought to be under the government of *one Prince*; but he says THAT NATIONS AND PRINCES SHALL DISAPPEAR FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH; *that every father shall, like Abraham, be at once the priest and sovereign of his family; and REASON shall be the sole Code of Man.* The Hierophant there declares, that SECRET SOCIETIES are the agents that are to produce this revolution, and *that it is one of the grand secrets of Illuminism.* There, in short, is clearly to be seen the plan of bringing men back to the pretended *Patriarchal nomade* and *savage* life; and it is even expressly asserted, that the original cause of the fall of man was their *re-union in civil*

society. The depositions, therefore, of Messrs. Utzschneider, Cosandey, and Grünberger, are perfectly correct so far as they relate to their degrees; for such was the doctrine taught in the degrees of *Major* and *Minor* Illuminee. Another remark may also be true, that as a preparatory step the Illuminees only seek to destroy all the lesser powers in order to form one or two great states in Germany; but that will not change the fate decreed in the higher mysteries for these greater Princes of the German nation, or for all Princes and nations in general. This single Potentate will then share the same fate as *Religion*. We have heard them talk of reducing the world to the *unity of Religion*, as well as to the unity or equality of *stations*. But has not the Sect already declared, that in order to be admitted to the last secret one must begin by *getting rid of all religion*? This plan, therefore, for reducing Germany under the dominion of one Prince, is evidently nothing more than a preliminary step, in like manner as their plan of subjecting Princes to the government of their Order. When the proper time comes, all these plans are changed, in the lessons of the adepts, to the total annihilation of every state, prince, and civil government on earth.

The Reader may easily perceive how the Sect, even so early as the degrees in which the three deponents had been admitted, prepares them for the last secrets; especially when he sees immediately following the pretended union of Germany, that maxim which has already appeared in the first deposition:

V. "The love of one's prince and of one's country are incompatible with views of an immense extent, with *the ultimate ends of the Order*, and one must glow with ardour for the attainment of that *end*."¹⁷

In the Degrees also to which the deponents had been admitted we see the Superiors incessantly declaiming on that *end*; but they never mention what it really was. They even confess that they are not in the secret; they say that the knowledge of it is reserved to the higher degrees; their own declaration, therefore, proves that it cannot be this unity of Religion or of Government to be established in Germany, as they are not strangers to that plan. Besides, how can it appear, that the love of one's country, or national love, is incompatible with the wish of uniting a great nation under the dominion of one Prince. On the other hand, we see these maxims in perfect accord with the views of Illuminism, when, advancing toward the higher degrees, we hear the Sect pouring for its blasphemies against Princes and Nations, and positively declaring, as one of their mysteries, that SECRET SOCIETIES were only contrived to sweep Nations and Princes from the face of the earth. Such are the plots to be discovered to nations; such have been the tricks employed by the Illuminees to lull nations to sleep on their dangers; and, English Reviewers having hearkened to such insinuations, I am obliged to have recourse to repetitions in the midst of a nation whose ruin is now become one of the chief objects of the Sect.—But let us return to the depositions of our witnesses.

"The Superiors of Illuminism are to be looked upon as the most perfect and the most enlightened of men; no doubts are to be entertained even of their infallibility.¹⁸

"It is in these moral and political principles that the Illuminees are educated in the lower degrees; and it is according to the manner in which they imbibe them and show their devotion to the Order, or are able to second its views, that they are earlier or later admitted to the higher degrees.

"They use every possible artifice to get the different post-offices in all countries entrusted to the care of their adepts only. They also boast that they are in possession of the secret of opening and reclosing letters without the circumstance being perceived.

"They made us give answers in writing to the following questions: How would it be possible to devise one single system of morals and one common Government for all Europe, and what means should be employed to effectuate it? Would the Christian Religion be a necessary requisite? Should revolt be employed to accomplish it? &c. &c.

"We were also asked, in which Brethren we should place the most confidence if there were any important plan to be undertaken; and whether we were willing to recognize the right of life and death as vested in the Order; and also the right of the sword, *Jus Gladii*.

"In consequence of our acquaintance with this doctrine of the Illuminees, with their conduct, their manners, and their incitements to treason, and being fully convinced of the dangers of the Sect, we the Aulic Counsellor Utzschneider and the Priest Dillis left the Order. The Professor Grünberger, the Priest Cosandey, Renner, and Zaupfer, did the same a week after, though the Illuminees sought to impose upon us shamefully, by assuring us that his Electoral Highness was a member of their Order. We clearly saw that a Prince knowing his own interests, and wholly attending to the paternal care of his subjects, would never countenance a Sect, spreading through almost every province under the cloak of Free-masonry; because it sows division and discord between parents and their children, between Princes and their subjects, and among the most sincere friends; because on all important occasions it would install partiality on the seats of justice and in the councils, as it always prefers the welfare of the Order to that of the state, and the interests of its adepts to those of the prophane. Experience had convinced us, that they would soon succeed in perverting all the Bavarian youth. The leading feature in the generality of their adepts were irreligion, depravity of morals, disobedience to their Prince and to their parents, and the neglect of all useful studies. We saw that the fatal consequence of Illuminism would be, to create a general distrust between the prince and his subjects, the father and his children, the minister and his secretaries, and between the different tribunals and councils. We were not to be deterred by that threat so often repeated, *That no Prince can save him that betrays us*. We abandoned, one after the other, this Sect, which under different names, as we have been informed by several of our former Brethren, has already spread itself in Italy, and particularly at Venice, in Austria,

in Holland, in Saxony, on the Rhine, particularly at Frankfort, and even as far as America.—The Illuminees meddle as much as possible in state affairs, and excite troubles wherever their Order can be benefited by them.”

Here followed a list of a great many *invisibles*, of several superiors, and of some of the most active members. A second list contained persons who, though as yet unacquainted with the ultimate views of the Order, were zealous and active Recruiters, but the government thought fit to keep those two lists secret. The deponents then proceed.

“We are not acquainted with the other *Invisibles*, who in all probability are chiefs of a higher degree.

“After we had retired from the Order, the Illuminees calumniated us on all sides in the most infamous manner. Their cabal made us fail in every request we presented; succeeding in rendering us hateful and odious to our superiors, they even carried their calumnies so far as to pretend that one of us had committed murder. After a year’s persecution, an Illuminee came to represent to the Aulic Counsellor Utzschneider, that from experience he must have learned that he was every where persecuted by the Order, that unless he could contrive to regain its protection, he would never succeed in any of his demands, and that he could still regain admission.”

Here ends the deposition signed by the three deponents. After their signature follows the attestation, that each of the deponents had been called in separately in presence of the Commissary, and their respective declarations read to them; and that each had affirmed the truth of the contents on oath, as witnesses, the 10th of September, 1785. I leave the reader to make his reflections on the strength and nature of these first proofs acquired against Illuminism; and proceed immediately to the circumstances which disclosed the ulterior projects of the Sect.

1. Original Writings, Vol. II. Let 2, from *Philo* to *Cato*.
2. Ibid. Let. 1, from *Epictetus*.
3. Orig. Writ. Let. 1 to *Epictetus*, 7th Feb. 1783.
4. Kein Fürst kann den schützen der uns verräth.
5. Wie die wahren spürhunde abgerichtet werden.
6. Und zwar von iener art der verschwundenen, wie man sie in der ordens sprache nennt.—Were I to request certain English reviewers, and particularly Dr. Griffiths, or his assistants in the *Monthly Review*, to read and weigh this observation of the German deponent, those gentlemen might perhaps wish to retort it on me; but let them recollect, that when men who have associated with robbers are seen to depose against them, or when the writings of conspirators are produced in evidence, a person may easily prove their criminality without being an accomplice. But you, Gentlemen, who were not with them, yet pretend to prove their innocence, will your assertion invalidate the evidence of eye and ear witnesses? If you are of their party, all that can be concluded from your denials is, that you are still very faithful and much devoted to them, since in their defence you resist the demonstration of evidence.
7. All kings and all priests are rascals and traitors.

8. Dann kein *Religionär* (es ist ihr ausdrück) wird in die höhere grad auf genommen.
9. See the Apology of the Illuminees, P. 62.
10. See Original Writings, Vol. II. last Letter and Note.
11. Und zu glich zur auskundschaftung aller sachen.
12. Der Illuminat, der in die höhern grade kommen will, muss von aller religion frey seyn.
13. Volte jemand den Regenten mehr anhängen, so taugt er nicht für uns.
14. Sie haben kein Recht über uns, freye Menschen.
15. Alles was beste des Ordens besördert, muss man thun, wenn es gleich dem besten der Regenten zuwider lauff.
16. This is precisely what has been lately attempted to divert the eyes of the public from their monstrous and Antisocial plots; and even in England this plea has been set up, in hopes of invalidating the proofs adduced in these Memoirs. I know not who is the *invisible* writer of such paragraphs; but though even the *Sieur Boettiger* himself, famous among the German Illuminees, were the author of them I should little fear his arguments. Let my readers compare his proofs with mine: I ask no more.
17. Fürsten und vaterlands liebe widersprechen den weitaussehenden gesichts puncten des Orders—Man muss glühen für den zweck.
18. An deren untrüglichkeit man nie zweifeln dürfe.

CHAP. VIII.

Continuation of the Discoveries made in Bavaria as to the Illuminees.—Proceedings of the Court with respect to the Chiefs of the Sect.—A few Remarks on and a List of the principal Adepts.

NOTWITHSTANDING the important discoveries made by the court of Bavaria, proofs were still wanting of the plans and of the ultimate views of Illuminism, which the Sect concealed with so much care, and of which none of the witnesses could give any satisfactory account. The court had neglected to seize Weishaupt's papers at the time; and it was clear that the adepts had taken every precaution to put theirs beyond the power of the most diligent search. The court even appeared to pay little or no attention to the proper steps that should be taken, and only watched the motions of those adepts who still kept up a correspondence with their chiefs. If we are to credit the apology published by the Illuminees, it was for no other reason that DELLING, municipal officer of Munich, and KRENNER, professor at Ingolstadt, were dismissed from their employments. On the same account, they tell us, were the Count Savioli and the Marquis Constanza exiled from Bavaria, and the Baron Maggenhoff condemned to a month's imprisonment in a monastery.

This apologist also pretends, that the Canon Hertel was deprived of his benefice, because he would not give an account of the funds belonging to the Illuminees. But after the different parts that we have seen these adepts perform, it appears that the court was pretty well informed; and it certainly gave a great proof of its clemency when it allowed *Brutus*-Savioli and *Diomedes*-Constanza a pension which they were at liberty to expend wherever they chose, excepting in Bavaria. Light, however, as these punishments were for conspirators of their stamp, the Illuminees filled all Germnay with their reclamations, crying out against a persecution which they represented as the height of despotism, oppression, and injustice. The depositions that had been made were published, and the authors of them were immediately assailed with a torrent of abuse, sophistry, and calumny; nor was the court spared. The whole business appeared to be changed into a literary war, in which the impudence of the apologists had very nigh succeeded in casting doubts on the wisdom and justice of his Electoral Highness;¹ and it was high time to have recourse to such measures as could incontestably prove the guilt of the Sect.

At length, on the 11th of October, 1786, the magistrates, by order of the Elector, made a visit at *Cato-Zwack's* house, at a time when he least expected it. Others went on the same commission to the castle of Sanderdorf, belonging to *Hannibal* Baron Bassus. The result of these visitations was, the discovery of a multitude of letters, discourses, rules, plans, and statues, which may be looked upon as the archives of the conspirators, and have been published under the title of *Original Writings of the Order and of the Sect of the Illuminees*. The conspiracy, of which Weishaupt was the chief, now appeared in such horrid colours, that one could scarcely believe human wickedness to have been able to devise it. But at the head of each of these two volumes is an advertisement, informing all readers, that orders have been given by the Elector to the keeper of his archives to show the originals to whoever might wish to verify them. The only resource now left to the conspirators was to complain of the violation of domestic secrecy. Pretended justifications swarmed again from the adepts; and they had the impudence to assert, that these letters, so far from containing any thing militating against society or religion, only contained views for the happiness and amelioration of mankind. They made every attempt possible to give plausible interpretations to their letters; but they never dared assert that any of these writings had been forged. Their own avowals are to be found in their apologies; and the proofs of their anti-religious and anti-social conspiracy rest upon such incontestable grounds, that their sophisms can never invalidate them.²

The court of Bavaria, when it gave so great a publicity to the proofs it had thus acquired, was not actuated solely by a view of justifying its own conduct; but it was desirous also to warn every state of the dangers with which it was threatened. The Elector, therefore, sent a copy of these *Original Writings* to all the powers of Europe; and the answers of the different ministers proved, that they had all received these documents of a most monstrous conspiracy against every church and state. The historian will naturally ask, how it came to pass that the knowledge of these proofs of a conspiracy, at once so evident and so threatening to every state in the world, should have been so long confined to Germany. And how it happened, that these *Original Writings* did not become the daily lectures of every family. Should not every father have read it to his children, and explained to them the horrid machinations that were contriving against their God, their country, and their property? Universal indignation must have seized every mind, and crushed these illuminizing monsters in their cradle. Such at least were the fears which the conspirators themselves had conceived on seeing their plans and means discovered. Unable to destroy the proofs, they did every thing in their power to hinder their circulation. On the other hand, few ministers were aware of the immense influence and power of secret societies; and the Bavarian association appeared to them more despicable than dangerous; the very excess of their conspiracy gave it a more chimerical appearance; and the policy of some statesmen might have made them believe that the publication of the archives of these conspirators would only serve to accredit their

sophisms, and add to the danger by divulging their principles. Lastly, the language in which they were written was little known in the other parts of Europe; and it was thought best to leave them in a profound oblivion. Such may be the explanation of this species of phenomenon, or of this total ignorance in which the rest of the world were, with respect to the nature and views of the Illuminees, when I announced to the public the use I intended to make of them in these Memoirs.

A mystery still more astonishing, and which could not have been believed, had not the progress of the Illuminees proved it, is that inactivity or somnolency in which all the German courts appeared to be buried in the midst of the dangers that had been so clearly pointed out to them by the court of Bavaria. Unfortunately for the Empire, Frederic II of Prussia died a little before these last proofs were acquired against the Illuminees. No sooner did this Prince hear of the conspiracy, than he immediately traced all those principles of sedition and anarchy which he had already been obliged to divulge as the tenets of the Sophisters; the Illuminees even pretend it to have been at his instigation that the court of Munich prosecuted their chief and the first adepts who were discovered.³ What would he not have done himself against this Sect, if he had but seen in the Original Writings the progress that it was making in his own states! Ministers, under a Prince so tenacious as he was of the authority necessary to support his Government, and so justly offended as he was against the Sophisters of Rebellion, would not have sneered or replied sarcastically to those letters which the court of Bavaria transmitted as introductory and explanatory, together with the proofs acquired against the Sect. But the archives of Illuminism were not discovered till the 11th and 12th October 1786, and Frederic had died on the 17th August of that year. His successor was a prey to adepts of another species, almost as great knaves as those of Bavaria. The Emperor Joseph had not yet been undeceived with respect to the Lodges that surrounded him. Many other Princes were either seduced, or so fettered by the Illuminees that they could not act. This may serve to account for their apparent indifference; and it also explains the circumstance of several of them having viewed the proceedings of the court of Munich in the light of an absolute persecution of their own Brethren. The Prince Bishop of Ratisbon was the only one who seemed to know his danger, and who published edicts in support of those issued by the Elector.

Nevertheless, the proofs published by the court of Bavaria are those whence the most evident demonstration of the plots of Illuminism have been deduced in these Memoirs. The very scraps of paper found among the archives indicate the most consummate villainy. Among these were, chiefly in *Ajax-Massenhausen's* hand, and in the cypher of the Order, *receipts* for making the *aqua toffana*, the most acute of all poisons; for *procuring abortion in women*; and for *poisoning the air of an apartment*: also a collection of *one hundred and thirty seals of Princes, Noblemen, and Bankers*, with the secret of taking off and imitating all those for which the Order might, according to circumstances, have occasion. The description of a lock, of which the adepts only should have

the secret, was likewise contained in these papers; also the model of a coffer wherein to preserve their papers, and which should take fire immediately if any of the prophane attempted to open it. On other detached papers were to be seen the plan for placing some adepts in the suite of an ambassador, who should then carry on some commerce as fraudulent as it was lucrative for the Sect. Also the secret intimation, that all the Superiors of Illuminism should know how to *write with both hands*. A manuscript also was found entirely in Zwack's handwriting, and looked upon as very precious by the Order, because, under the title *Better than Horus*, it contained all the blasphemies of Atheism.⁴

Notwithstanding the little impression the publication of these discoveries had made on the other Princes of Germany, the court of Bavaria continued its prosecutions against the Sect. About twenty of the adepts were cited to appear; some were dismissed from their employments; others condemned to a few years imprisonment; and some, particularly Zwack, saved themselves by flight. The Elector's Tribunal could not by any calumny be accused of being sanguinary, as not one of the adepts was condemned to death. This punishment seemed to be reserved for Weishaupt alone, and a price was set upon his head. The Regency of Ratisbon, which in the first instance had refused to drive him from their territories, no longer dared to support him, at least not openly; and he took refuge under his Highness the Duke of Saxe Gotha. The reason why the Founder of Illuminism, and a number of his proscribed adepts, found protection and still continue in favour at so many courts, may be explained by the numerous disciples who enjoyed places of high importance in the different courts, and some of whom indeed were the Princes themselves. The list of these latter, were it accurately made out, would astonish posterity; more particularly, should the art with which Weishaupt seduced them, by truncating the mysteries, have escaped the notice of the historian; or should the means have remained a secret by which he blinded them and bound them to the Order, by surrounding them with adepts who knew how to seize on the ministry, on the *Decasteres*, or councils, and occupied all the places of consequence by themselves or their creatures.

I will not pretend to say, that these artifices of Illuminism can excuse those Princes for becoming disciples of Weishaupt. But most certainly they were rendered the dupes of his impiety before they became the sport of his conspiracies; and undoubtedly the latter was but the just punishment of the former. However this may be, we find LEWIS ERNEST of SAXE GOTHA at the head of these adepts under the characteristic of *Timoleon*. According to all the letters that I have received from Germany, this Prince is at length conscious of his error. He at present pays much greater attention to the happiness of his subjects than to the mysteries of the Sect. Weishaupt is not even allowed to appear in his presence; but the goodness of his heart will not allow the Prince to withdraw his benefactions even from those who have incurred his displeasure. It is thus, at least, that the pension he allows to the Founder of Illuminism is explained.⁵ But on the other hand, Weishaupt is far from being

excluded from the presence of Maria Charlotte Meinungen, the wife of His Highness; and thus is explained the asylum which the contriver of such horrid plots still finds at that court, notwithstanding the conversion of the Prince.

I will not pretend to pronounce, whether AUGUSTUS of SAXE-GOTHA has imbibed a similar disgust for Illuminism, as has his Brother the reigning Prince. At the time of Weishaupt's arrival, however, he was also an adept under the characteristic of *Prince Walter*.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS DUKE OF SAXE-WEIMAR was also initiated under the title of *Eschylus*; but he renounced the mysteries of the Sect.

The late PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK, at once the martial hero of Minden, and the Masonic leader at Wilhelmsbaden, fell a prey to all sorts of Illuminism. Wilhermots had begun by initiating him in the Illuminism of Swedenborg, and of the Martinists. His frequent conferences with Knigge seduced him into that of Weishaupt, who created him his Brother or his High Priest *Aaron*, and His Highness died during his Priesthood.

As to the late PRINCE OF NEUWIED, I know not what name was given him in recompense for his devotion to the Sect; but at his court it might with truth be said, the Illuminees had acquired such an ascendancy, that if they had gained a similar one in other parts, the world must have been theirs. This unfortunate Prince little thought that his own son would be deprived of all power in his own states, and that he would be reduced humbly to solicit the Comitia of the Empire for leave to assert his own rights, and to drive out from his states those adepts that had been protected by his Father, and his Uncle the Count Stolberg; or at least for leave to dismiss them from the employments they occupied, even from that of education of his children, which they had seized upon in spite of him.⁶

Another species of adept is My Lord the BARON OF DALBERG, Coadjutor to the Sects of Mentz, Worms, and Constanx, and Governor of the town and country of Erfort. We are led to shrink back in astonishment, and examine whether our eyes did not impose upon us, at the sight of a Bishop, intended to occupy the first Ecclesiastical and Electoral See in Germany, ranking among this Illuminized Brotherhood. Moreover, persons who had often been in company with His Lordship insisted on my effacing his name from these Memoirs. They assured me, that he held the principles of the modern Philosophers in the utmost detestation and that to them he attributed the French Revolution. I then produced a pamphlet published by His Lordship, with all his titles and his name at the head of it, entitled, *Of the Influence of Sciences and of the Polite Arts on the Public Tranquillity—At Erfort, 1793*. They then saw that the object of this pamphlet was to stifle in the germs what His Lordship calls *the noxious prejudices of some short-sighted good people*, by proving to them that neither the Philosophers nor the Sophisters of the age had given rise to the French Revolution, and that *Condorcet himself had but little contributed towards it*. This pamphlet also abounded in those arguments of Illuminized Philosophism which the Sect set forth to dupe nations as to the tendency of their conspiracy; I did not therefore efface the name of His Lordship; I on the

contrary subjoined that of *Crescens*, his characteristic among the Illuminees. How it is possible that at such a name he could refrain from shuddering with horror! and what services could the Order expect from him under such a characteristic? The name of *Crescens* has only been transmitted to posterity by his addition to the infamous debauchery of the Cynic Philosophers, and by his calumnies against the Christians, which obliged St. Justin to write his Second Apology for Christianity. A protestant who is eager to see that of His Lordship tells us, that it will most certainly appear in its proper time, and we impatiently await for it!⁷ We shall there find, I hope, that His Lordship had not been initiated into all the secrets of the Sect. They must at least have concealed from him their designs upon the Sees of Mentz, Worms, and Constanzt, to which His Lordship was Coadjutor.—In all probability, these were not the secrets of which his Secretary *Crysippus*-KOLBORN informed him, who, admitted to the degree of Epopt, *was already become a half-naturalist without knowing it*, and from whom Knigge expected the greatest services.⁸ But can this characteristic of *Crescens* denote any other view than that of seducing His Lordship into an apostacy similar to that of his Secretary? We can only repeat, that it is with great anxiety we wait for His Lordship's Apology.

But what other apology, than a clear and public profession of faith, and an abjuration of Illuminism, can reinstate the honor of the Prelate HASLEIN, known in the Sect as the Brother *Philo of Byblos*! The Original Writings describe this adept prelate as overloaded with work. It is an unfortunate circumstance for him to have been able to find time to pen letters and plans that could have placed him in such great estimation with the chiefs of these conspirators.⁹

Among the higher class of adepts may be ranked *Alexander*, or the general Count of PAPPENHEIM, Governor of Ingolstadt, and *Alfred* the Count of SEINSHEIM, Minister and Vice-President of the Council at Munich. At getting possession of this latter Minister Weishaupt exults, and on giving him the characteristic of *Alfred* he thus writes to *Cato*: "What great men we daily gain over to our party at *Athens* (Munich), and that without its being perceived! Men much considered, ready formed, and perfect models!" Weishaupt does not wish to see this adept in *leading strings*, and therefore dispenses with his noviciate. He also hopes, with a little care on the part of the recruiters, *to see his Excellency become one of his greatest enthusiasts*; and he soon found that he had judged accurately of his pupil. The adept Minister goes of his own accord to Ingolstadt to be present at the inauguration of an illuminized church, where Weishaupt does the honors in a new discourse prepared for the occasion. Full of admiration at the lessons of the Chief, the illuminized Minister becomes the carrier of this discourse to the Brethren at Munich and all the town of Ingolstadt were surprized at seeing the Minister, with so many other of the Brethren, come to visit Weishaupt.¹⁰ At length the day arrives when the object of this visit ceases to be a mystery, and the adept Minister is condemned to a short exile: but it still remains to be known, whether it is a sincere repentance for his past enthusiasm, or some new intrigue or secret influence of the

Brethren, that has recalled him and reinstated him in his former dignities at the Court of Munich. All that I can gather from my correspondence at Bavaria is, that Illuminism is very far from having lost its influence in that country.

Another adept, dear to the Sect, is the Count KOLLOWRATH, the *Numenius* of Knigge, and whom Weishaupt wished to cure of his theosophical ideas. He was, however, entrusted to the care of *Brutus* Count SAVIOLI, who observing him pass too suddenly to doubts on *the immortality of the soul*, began to suspect that his sudden conversion to the systems of Illuminism was only pretended, in order that he might gain admission to the secrets of the Order. If he ever attained the higher degrees, it was not at least with the enthusiasm of *Alfred*.¹¹

Weishaupt also classed *Chabrias*, the Baron WALDENFELS, at Cologne, among the adepts of high rank: he was the Minister of the Elector; but no sooner had he discovered the knavery of the higher mysteries than he abandoned the Order. *Ptolemeus Lagus*, or that same Baron RIEDSEL, who in *Minos-Dittfurt's* plan was to have had the direction of the Illuminized Sisterhood, imitated this example. We cannot hope, however, to tear the mask from all those conspirators whom Weishaupt has encompassed with darkness, and who should rank among the higher class of adepts. The list that was published soon after the Original Writings contains chiefly those whom my reader have already seen in the course of this work. I shall, however, subjoin it here with such observations as time has since enabled me to make. There will appear adepts scattered throughout the Councils, the Magistracy, the Army, and the houses for public Education; and this general view will better enable the reader to judge of the care with which the Conspirators sought to occupy the most important posts of society while they planned its run.

*List of the principal Illuminees from the Foundation of
the Sect in 1776, till the Discovery of the Original
Writings in 1786.*

Characteristics	Real Names of the Adepts
<i>Spartacus</i>	WEISHAUP, Professor of Laws at Ingolstadt, and Founder of the Sect
<i>Agrippa</i>	WILL, Professor at Ingolstadt
<i>Ajax</i>	MASSENHAUSEN, Counsellor at Munich
<i>Alcibiades</i>	HOHENEICHER, Counsellor at Freysinguen
<i>Alexander</i>	COUNT PAPPENHEIM, General and Governor of Ingol- stadt

<i>Alfred</i>	Count SEINSHEIM, Vice-President at Munich, first exiled as an Illuminee, then sent from Deux-Ponts to Ratisbon, and at length returned to, and in place at Munich
<i>Amian</i>	Count COBENZEL, Treasurer at Aichstadt
<i>Attila</i>	SAUER, Chancellor at Ratisbon
<i>Brutus</i>	Count SAVIOLI, Counsellor at Munich
<i>Cato</i> (also <i>Danaus & Phil.-Strozzi</i>)	XAVERIUS ZWACK, Aulic Counsellor, and Counsellor of the Regency. Exiled as an adept
<i>Celsus</i>	BAADER, Physician to the Electress Dowager
<i>Claudius</i>	SIMON-ZWACK
<i>Confucius</i> (at first <i>Zoroaster</i>)	BAIERHAMMER, Judge at Diesen
<i>Coriolanus</i>	TROPONERO, Counsellor at Munich
<i>Diomedes</i>	Marquis of COSTANZA, Counsellor at Munich
<i>Epictetus</i>	MIEG, Counsellor at Heidelberg
<i>Epimenides</i>	FALK, Counsellor and Burgomaster at Hanover
<i>Euclid</i>	RIEDL, Counsellor at Munich
<i>Hannibal</i>	Baron BASSUS, a Swiss from the Grisons
<i>Hermes Trismegistus</i>	SOLCHER, Curate at Haching
<i>Livius</i>	RUDORGER, Secretary of the States at Munich
<i>Ludovicus Bavarus</i>	LORI, Dismissed from the Order
<i>Mahomet</i>	Baron SCHROEKENSTEIN
<i>Marius</i>	HERTEL, Canon of, and exiled from Munich
<i>Menelaus</i>	WERNER, Counsellor at Munich

<i>Minos</i>	Baron DITTFURT, Assessor to the Imperial Chamber of Wetzlar
<i>Moenius</i>	DUFRESNE, Commissary at Munich
<i>Masee</i>	Baron MONJELLAY, exiled from Munich, received and placed at Deux-Ponts
<i>Numa</i>	SONNENSELS, Counsellor at Vienna and Censor
<i>Numa Pompilius</i>	Count LODRON, Counsellor at Munich
<i>Pericles</i>	Baron PECKER, Judge at Amberg
<i>Philo</i>	Baron KNIGGE, in the service of Bremen
<i>Philo of Byblos</i>	The Prelate HASLEIN, Vice-President of the Spiritual Council at Munich, and Bishop <i>in Partibus</i>
<i>Pythagoras</i>	DREXL, Librarian at Munich
<i>Raimond de Lulle</i>	FRONHOWER, Counsellor at Munich
<i>Simonides</i>	RULING, Counsellor at Hanover
<i>Solon</i>	MICHT, an Ecclesiastic at Freysinguen
<i>Spinosa</i>	MÜNTER, Attorney at Hanover
<i>Sylla</i>	Baron MAGGENHOFF, Captain in the Bavarian service
<i>Tamerlane</i>	LANG, Counsellor at Aichstadt
<i>Thales</i>	KAPFINGER, Secretary to Count Tattenbach
<i>Tiberius</i>	MERZ, exiled from Bavaria, since Secretary to the Ambassador of the Empire at Copenhagen
<i>Vespasian</i>	Baron HORNSTEIN, of Munich*

*This list is taken from that published in the German Journals.

This List appears to have been chiefly compiled for the Bavarian adepts in the first volume of the Original Writings. The second volume might furnish us with the following additions, besides a multitude of other adepts whose true names have not been discovered. Those whose names are not followed by the page quoted from the Original Writings in this list, have been sent to me in Private Memorials and Letters, or are extracted from Public Journals.

Characteristics	Real Names of the Adepts
<i>Aaron</i>	This adept is only mentioned under the initials P. F. V. B. (<i>Prince Ferdinand von Brunswick</i>), both when he sends for Knigge, and when he promises his protection to the adept who is to <i>Illuminize ENGLAND</i> , (P. 122 and 184)
<i>Accacius</i>	Doctor KOPPE, Superintendant first at Gotha, afterwards at Hanover (P. 123)
<i>Agathocles</i>	SCHMERBER, Merchant at Frankfort on the Mein (P. 10)
<i>Agis</i>	KROBER, Governor of the Prince of Stolberg's children at Neuwied (P. 181)
<i>Alberoni</i>	BLEUBETREU, formerly a Jew, afterwards a Counsellor of the Chamber at Neuwied (P. 181)
<i>Amelius</i>	BODE, Privy Counsellor at Weimar (P. 213 and 221, &c.)
<i>Archelaus</i>	DE BARRES, formerly a Major in the French service (P. 183)
<i>Aristodemes</i>	COMPE, High Bailiff at Weinburg in the Electorate of Hanover
<i>Bayard</i>	Baron BUSCHE, a Hanoverian in the Dutch service (P. 195)
<i>Belisarius</i>	PETERSON, at Worms
<i>Campanella</i>	Count STOLBERG, the maternal uncle of the Prince of Neuwied; and with him may be comprised the whole court, the favorites, secretaries, and council without exception (P. 69 and 189)
<i>Cornelius Scipio</i>	BERGER, a Lecturer at Munich (P. 220)
<i>Crescens</i>	Baron DALBERG, Coadjutor of Mentz (<i>from Memorials, Letters, and German Journals</i>)
<i>Chrysippus</i>	KOLBORN, Secretary to the Baron Dalberg (P. 73 and 100)

<i>Cyril</i>	SCHWEICKART, at Worms
<i>Gotescale</i>	MOLDENHAUER, Protestant Professor of Divinity at Keil in Holstein, (P. 198)
<i>Hegesias</i>	Baron GREIFENCLAU, of Mentz (P. 196)
<i>Levellor</i>	LEUCHSENRING, an Alsacian, and Preceptor to the Princes of Hesse Darmstadt; driven from Berlin, he took refuge at Paris.
<i>Lucian</i>	NICOLAI, Bookseller and Journalist at Berlin (P. 28)
<i>Manethon</i>	SCHMELZER, Ecclesiastical Counsellor at Mentz (P. 196)
<i>Marcus Aurelius</i>	FEDER ¹² , Professor at Gottinguen (P. 81)
<hr/>	MÜNTER, Professor of Divinity at Copenhagen (P. 123)
<i>Numenius</i>	Count KOLLOVRATH, at Vienna (P. 199)
<i>Peter Cotton</i>	VOGLER, Physician at Neuwied (P. 188)
<i>Pic de la Mirandole</i>	BRUNNER, Priest at Tiefenback in the Bishopric of Spire (P. 174)
<i>Theognis</i>	FISCHER, a Lutheran Minister in Austria (P. 204)
<hr/>	RONTGEN, Protestant Minister of Petkam in East Friesland, and <i>the</i> ENGLISH APOSTLE of <i>Illuminism</i>
<i>Timoleon</i>	ERNEST LEWIS, Duke of Saxe Gotha (<i>Private Memorials</i>)
<i>Prince Walter</i>	AUGUSTUS of Saxe Gotha (<i>Ibid</i>)

We do not add to this List *Eschylus*, or Charles Augustus of Saxe Weimar, as he has declined the honor of continuing one of Weishaupt's disciples. The late Prince of Neuwied might be subjoined for many reasons, and he would make the fifth Prince well known to have been connected with the Sect; but he is no more; and we have not sufficient proofs to inscribe on the list several others of that class who in Germany are supposed to belong to the Sect.

1. For the whole of this literary war, see the *Apologie der Illuminaten*, and the addition *Nachtracht zu der Apologie*, &c. and the answer of the deponents *Grosse absechten des Orders der Illuminaten*; the addition to these answers *Nachtrach*, &c. No. 1, 2, 3.
2. For these avowals see the *Apology of Cato-Zuack*; the Preface of Weishaupt's *Illuminism corrected*; the Baron Bassus's Defence; and particularly the *Last Observations* by Knigge. *Philo*, in this latter work, very frankly acknowledges all the letters that are attributed to him in the Original Writings, and he frequently quotes Weishaupt's letters as being equally authentic with his own.
3. See Memorial inserted in No. 12 of the *Weltkunde*, the *Tubingen Gazette*.
4. Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Sect. 18, 19, 21.
5. I am also informed, that this pension is not taken from the *public treasury*, (as I said in my third volume, page 2) but from the Duke's private purse. Those indeed who look upon the superfluities of this purse as foreign to the duties that a Prince owes to the public, to decency, or to his own honour and reputation, may make the distinction. I, for one at least, shall never adopt it.
6. This law-suit between the Prince and Illuminism is of a most extraordinary nature indeed. The reader shall hear him state his case himself to the Diet of Ratisbon in the year 1794:—

“Every one is acquainted with what this Sect has done in France. We have also seen extraordinary instances of its power at Neuwied: it has a Lodge here called the *Three Peacocks*. My Father and my first Wife greatly favoured these adepts, and my present one in particular is the great protectrix of several of them; of that Pastor WINZ for example, who, notwithstanding the great service I rendered him in stifling a prosecution against him for Socianism, is now one of my greatest enemies. She was also very closely connected with the Aulic Counsellor KRÖBER (the adept *Agis*). One SCHWARTZ, from Brunswick, and a titular major of Weimar, to whom my Father entrusted the education of one of my children, and who to my great grief has still two of them under his care, is also a great favourite of the Princess's; she has placed her whole confidence in him, and sees him very often, although letters from Brunswick depict him in the light of a most detestable intriguer. Several Counsellors and various officers and other inhabitants of Neuwied are, like him, members of the Sect, and are in agreement with the Princess. It is notorious, that they are all bound by oath mutually to support each other. They have also gained over various other persons who do not belong to their Order; and thus an association has been formed for my destruction.”

In fact the Illuminees had succeeded in getting this Prince placed under an interdict in his own states; he accused several of his first judges as being adepts; it cost them little to declare on their oaths that they were not, and some indeed no longer continued attached to the Sect. This incident occasioned him much unpleasant trouble; but at length he was reinstated in his possessions after a very long law-suit, which must have taught the German Princes how well Illuminism can take advantage of its power when once it has succeeded in surrounding them.

7. See the *Eudemonia*, Vol. IV. No. 5, Letter of Doctor J. H. Jung.
8. Orig. Writ. Vol. II. Let. 1, from *Philo*.
9. Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. from *Diomedes*, and Vol. II. Let. 1. from *Philo*.

10. Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 7, 9, 18.
11. Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. from *Brutus*.
12. It was on seeing the strong illusion of his degree of Epopot (so strangely impious) on the doctors Feder and Koppe, and some others of the University of Gottinguen, that Weishaupt wrote to *Cato*, "You cannot conceive how much my degree of *Priest* or *Epopot* is admired by our people; but what is the most extraordinary is, that several great Protestant and Reformed Divines, who are of our Order, really believe that that part of the discourse which alludes to religions contains the true spirit and real sense of Christianity. *Poor mortals, what could I not make you believe!*" Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 18.

CHAP. IX.

New Chiefs and new Means of the Illuminees.— Device of the Jesuits Masonry and Success of that Imposture

AMONG the secret writings that the Sect had in vain sought to conceal from the eyes of justice, was one on which was found, in *Cato-Zwack's* handwriting, this remarkable marginal note: "In order to re-establish our affairs, let some of the ablest of those brethren who have avoided our misfortunes take the places of our founders; let them get rid of the discontented, and in concert with the new elect, labour to restore our society to its primitive vigour."¹ Weishaupt had scarcely left Ingolstdt when he threatened those who dismissed him, that ere long *their joy should be converted into sorrow*,² and it was evident, that the Illuminees were far from having abandoned their conspiracy. Notwithstanding, however, the awful and menacing aspect which it presented, the different powers, it would seem, affected to leave the conspirators in possession of means to prosecute their illuminizing plans with greater activity.

If we except Weishaupt, no adept in Bavaria had been condemned to a severer punishment than exile or a short imprisonment. In other parts, from Livonia to Strasbourg, and from Holstein to Venice, not a single inquiry had been made concerning their lodges. Many of those adepts who had been convicted of the deepest guilt had met with protection instead of indignation in the different courts. Notwithstanding that the clearest proofs of his guilt had been adduced, we see Zwack, a very few days after, producing certificates of his probity and fidelity to his prince, which had more the appearance of having been issued by his accomplices than by the Aulic Council;³ and the Prince of Salm Kyrbourg calls him to his court, in all probability to be served with a similar sort of fidelity!! The conspirators *Brutus-Savioli* and *Diomedes-Constanza* might continue to recruit for the Sect, provided it was not in Bavaria, and that at the expence of the Prince who had discovered their plots. *Tiberius-Merz*, whose infamous morals are recorded in the Original Writings, barefacedly escorted them in the retinue of the ambassador of the empire to Copenhagen. *Alfred-Seinsheim* merely bartered the favour of his Prince for that of the Duke de Deux-Ponts, and an intrigue was immediately set on foot to reinstate him at Munich. *Spartacus* himself tranquilly enjoyed his asylum and a pension at a court, though he had conspired to annihilate every Prince. Never had so monstrous a conspiracy been discovered or so publicly

denounced; yet never were conspirators so amply supplied with the means of continuing their plots by those even against whom they were conspiring. Thus plainly did every thing denote, that the flight of Weishaupt would be to Illuminism, what the *Hegira* of Mahomet had formerly been to Moslemism, only the prelude to a greater and more splendid success. Experience now taught Weishaupt to combine new means, according to his favorite maxim of *appearing idle in the midst of the greatest activity*. Perhaps also, content with having laid the foundations of his conspiracy, and with having arrived at that day which he had long since foretold, when he could defy the powers of the earth to destroy his fabric; or, perhaps, satisfied at seeing he had now formed men able to preside over his Areopage; he simply gave his advice on important occasions, leaving the common details, the functions of an ordinary chief, to other adepts. However that may be, though it were proved that he had given up the dignity of chief, though the archives of the Sect were more deeply concealed than they are, yet proofs of the plots which they are now prosecuting would not be wanting. Their public actions shall in future depose against them in default of their secret archives. The adepts were known; it was therefore easy to watch their labours and compare their devices. The German writers have had the start of us in that career; history, therefore, will not be destitute of demonstrative proofs.

The grand object of the Illuminees, after the discovery of their secret papers, was to persuade Germany that their Order was extinct; that the adepts had not only renounced all their illuminizing mysteries, but even all intercourse among themselves as members of a secret society. These are not the first Brigands or the first Sectaries on record that have wished to make the world believe the idea of their existence to be chimerical, even at the very time when they were most actively promoting their plots and propagating their principles. But here error has belied itself even in the mouths of its most zealous advocates. On the first appearance of those works that denounced to the British nation at large the conspiracy of the Illuminees, and shewed how they were prosecuting their plots in the occult Lodges of Masonry, the zealous brethren inhabiting the banks of the Thames called on their German allies for succour, in order to destroy those ill impression which the *Life of Zimmerman*, *Mr. Robison's Proofs*, and these *Memoirs*, were making. The complaints of the English fraternity, and the answer of their auxiliary Brother Boetiger, are inserted in the German Mercury, No. 11, page 267. Nearly the same answer has crossed the seas, in order to inform the English, through the channel of the *Monthly Magazine* of January 1798, page 3, that whoever should turn his researches toward Illuminism would be in pursuit of a chimera, "*as from the beginning of the year 1790, EVERY CONCERN OF THE ILLUMINATI HAS CEASED, and no Lodge of Free-masons in Germany has, since that period, taken the least notice of them. Evident proofs of this assertion are to be found among the papers of Mr. Bode, late Privy Counsellor at Weimar, who was at the head of the Order in this part of Germany, and who died in 1794.*"

The foregoing passage, written by Mr. Boetiger, may be observed to include a very singular avowal, which has already been noticed in Germany to the great confusion of the adepts. Some zealous writers have told them: You now own then, that the mysteries of Illuminism had become those of the Masonic Lodges, and that they had continued to be so till the year 1790; those journalists and other authors, therefore, who incessantly called the attention of sovereigns to the Illuminees, were not mistaken; and Zimmerman, Hoffman, and Dr. Stark, with so many other writers, whose works the Sect wished to suppress, were correct in publicly proclaiming that this disastrous Sect had not been annihilated when its plots were discovered in 1786, and much less so in 1785, as the adept writers of the Brotherhood or their hirelings had attempted to persuade the world.⁴ Now the conspirators think that it will suffice for their purpose to make the world believe that the idea of their existence *since the year 1790* is chimerical. This artifice also shall be unmasked, and nations shall be convinced that though this Sect may have changed its form, yet that in so doing it has only invigorated itself, and acquired new means of corruption.

The *Sieur Boetiger*, the Quixotte of the Illuminees, and of the Brother Bode in particular, also makes another avowal, viz. That his hero Bode really became the chief of the Illuminees in his part of Germany.⁵ No Brother before him had ever made this avowal, but it perfectly coincides with the information that I had received concerning this infamous Illuminee. It is under the direction of this adept, therefore, whose talents for conspiracy were so much admired by *Philo-Knigge*, that we are now to trace the labours and progress of the Sect.

To avert the public attention by means of fabulous plots, and to conceal their own that they might prosecute their conquests in the masonic Lodges; to ensnare that class called men of letters, and at length taint the whole mass of the people with their principles; were the objects of *Amelius-BODE*, and of the new Areopagites who presided over Illuminism after Weishaupt's flight and the dispersion of the Bavarian adepts. Among the various means devised, *one* might appear singularly ridiculous but for the astonishing advantages drawn from it by the Sect: I mean the fable of the *Jesuits Masonry*. A prodigious number of volumes have been written in Germany, both by those who invented the fable, and by others who thought it incumbent on them to warn the public of this new artifice of Illuminism. I will not wander into useless detail, but will simply lay before my reader the leading points by which he may trace the Sect until it attains the period of its power in our revolutions.

As an act of homage to the despot Weishaupt, *Philo-Knigge* was the first who, in the year 1781, and under the name of ALOYSIUS MAYER, published this idea of the Jesuits Masonry. He took it up again in the *circular letter* written by order of *Spartacus* to the Masonic Lodges; he again insists on it in his *Additions to the History of Freemasonry*.⁶ The adepts OSTERTAG at Ratisbon, NICOLAI and BIESTER at Berlin, and a swarm of other Illuminees, sought to give sanction to this Fable by their writings. As yet, however, it was difficult

to form a precise idea of this story of the Jesuits Masonry; or whether it was true or false. Bode at length made a collection of every thing that could be said on the subject, and sent the whole of these materials to the Brother BONNEVILLE at Paris.⁷ He soon published his work, entitled *The Jesuits expelled from Free-masonry*; and this production, sent to all the *regular* Lodges, was supposed to be the death-blow to this terrible phantom.

On investigating these different productions, we observe, that their drift was to make the Free-masons believe that all their Lodges were secretly under the direction of the Jesuits; that each Mason, without suspecting it, was but the slave and instrument of that society which had long since been looked upon as extinct, but whose members, though dispersed, still preserved an ascendancy disgraceful to Masonry, and dangerous to nations and their rulers. The result of all this tended to persuade the brethren, that true Masonry was not to be sought for either among the Rosicrucians or the Scotch Knights, and still less among the English Masons, or those of the Strict Observance; but solely among the *Ecdectic Lodges* that were under the direction of the Illuminees.⁸

The name of Jesuit is certainly a formidable bug-bear to many people, especially to those who could never pardon their zeal for the Roman Catholic faith; and it cannot be denied, that if constancy in the cause of that religion was hateful, they were well entitled to the hatred of the enemies of the Catholic faith. It is observable, that it was in those very parts of Germany where the Lodges were chiefly composed of Protestant brethren, that this fable made the most astonishing impression, nothing being talked of but Jesuits under the cloak of Masonry, and their great conspiracy. One might have thought that the conspiracy of the Illuminees was entirely forgotten; but that was not their only object. The Masonic Brethren of the ordinary Lodges heard so much of their being the dupes of the Jesuits, that they abandoned the Strict Observance and the Rosicrucians, and flocked to the Eclectic Masons, then under the direction of the Illuminees. The Masonic Revolution was so complete and so fatal to ancient Masonry, that its zealous Masters and Venerables declared this fiction of Jesuits Masonry to be a conspiracy truly worthy of a Danton or a Robespierre.⁹ In vain did the more clearsighted Masons point out the snare, to vindicate their reputation and put a stop to the general desertion. Their demonstrations came too late; beside, they were written by Protestants, who were strongly prejudiced against the Jesuits or knew but little about them.¹⁰ But, unfortunately, when Germany really discovered the drift of the fable, the greater part of the Masons had united with the Illuminees for fear of falling a prey to the Jesuits, and many others had entirely abandoned the Lodges, chusing to be neither Illuminees nor Jesuits. Thus was that threat of Weishaupt accomplished, that he would either conquer the Strict Observance and the Rosicrucians, or destroy them.

Were it not that prejudice often deprives men of the use of their reason, one should be astonished to see the Masons fall into such a paltry snare. Supposing that I were to go to the Mother Lodge of Edinburgh, the grand Lodge of York or that of London, and say to their Directories and Grand

Masters, you thought that you presided over the Masonic World; you looked upon yourselves as the guardians of the grand secrets of Masonry, and as the granters of the diplomas, but all this time you were mistaken, and little suspected that you were, and still continue to be nothing more than puppets put in motion by the Jesuits. Could one, I ask, invent any thing more degrading either to the human mind, or to that common sense which must, I suppose, be granted to the heroes of Masonry! Such, however, was the whole fable of the Jesuits Masonry. When speaking of the *English Masons*, the authors and abettors of this fable say, "*It is true, there are some (of those English Masons) who suspect that they are led by the nose, but these are few...* It is more common among them than *any where else*, for certain members to renew from time to time the idea of unknown Superiors;" and those unknown Superiors who lead the English *by the nose* are always the Jesuits.¹¹ Ere long the reproach becomes general; all that multitude of degrees invented in France, in Sweden, and in Germany, becomes an invention of the Jesuits, as well as the English and Scotch degrees;¹² and a sort of epidemical stupidity alone hinders the Brotherhood from feeling their bondage; at least such must be the natural consequence of this fable. How could the German Masons possibly avoid perceiving the absurdity of it?—Their profound adepts and the Elect of all nations flocked to Wilhelmsbaden, and in the space of thirty years they held five or six general assemblies; how came it to pass that all these brethren combining their secrets, their government, and their laws, revising, meditating, and correcting, not only their mysteries but their whole code, were purblind enough not to surmise at least that of which they were afterwards so fully persuaded when they returned to their Lodges, viz. "that they were but the vile instruments and slaves of the Jesuits?" There can be no medium; either the Masons must be the offspring of the grossest stupidity and folly (and then what becomes of their great lights and their science of sciences so much extolled), or, the invention of the Jesuits' Masonry must be a most absurd fable (and in that case why do they flock to the Lodges of the Illuminees for fear of meeting a bugbear in their own?)

This fable too appears still more absurd when we reflect that such men as Philippe D'Orleans, Condorcet, Syeyes, or Mirabeau, with so many other Deists, Atheists, and most inveterate enemies and assassins of the Jesuits, and of all those who preached the same doctrines, *were at the head of Masonry!*

It may also be worthy of remark, at what period these Religious are transformed into the Grand Masters and Directors of that multitude of Lodges spread from East to West? It is after they have been abolished; it is when, forbidden to form a community, they are dispersed throughout the different dioceses acting the part of private missionaries under the inspection of their Bishops: this is the period chosen for installing them governors and directors of a vast confraternity of Masons! It is when stripped of every thing, driven from their habitations, having scarcely wherewith to procure the necessaries of life, that they are supposed to command all the funds of the Masonic Lodges! It is when, under the yoke of persecution, they continue to preach the

doctrines of the Gospel, that they are accused of a supposed secret impiety and of a profound policy! If they are impious, at least we must allow them to be as awkward in their impiety and as imbecile as those who could suppose them to have possessed some ingenuity; for in the midst of their supposed impiety, of their Deistical and Atheistical, their rebellious and anarchical principles, they have been awkward enough always to have for their greatest enemies not only the Deists and Atheists of Masonry but those of every other class! On the other hand, they are supposed to be the authors of the new mysteries of Masonry, and they are artful enough to introduce them by means of protestant leaders, such as a Baron HUND or a ZINNENDORFF; beside, these mysteries are only multiplied in the divers Lodges in order to create intestine jealousies, hatreds, &c. which all the general meetings of the Sect could not repress! This also must be the work of a body profoundly politic! Did these terrible Jesuits then think to add to their power by thus destroying the Masonic puppets which they had so long governed, in place of uniting those millions of brethren or slaves under one law, who might have formed an impenetrable phalanx against their enemies?

Certainly we must be astonished at the absurdity of this fable of the Jesuits' Masonry; but our astonishment increases on examining the proofs whereon it is grounded.¹³

Let us suppose that Nicolai, Knigge, Bode and the other writers of the Brotherhood, had made a compilation of every thing that was odious in Masonry, and had substituted the word *Jesuit* for that of *Freemason* or *Rosicrucian*, we shall then have a pretty accurate idea of the general course followed by the Illuminizing Masons. It would be exactly as if any historian were to take it into his head, when treating of Weishaupt's Code, to substitute the word *Jesuit* in lieu of *Illuminee*, and that without being able to name a single Jesuit against whom the accusation could be preferred, notwithstanding the ardent desire of these barefaced calumniators to mention some one at least of the culprit Jesuits. It is a long series of contradictions. Neither do they agree as to the time, the degrees, or the mysteries of this Masonry of the Jesuits. The sole fact that might deserve to be investigated, had any proof been adduced in confirmation of it, was that of the Jesuits converting Masonry into a conspiracy for the reinstatement of the Stuarts on the English Throne. But of what consequence could their reinstatement on the throne, or a secret of that nature, be to the Swedish, Russian, Polonese, or Dutch Masons; and how could one pretend to persuade the English and Scotch Masons that their Masonry, Code, and Emblems, long anterior to the catastrophe of the Stuarts, were only mysteries invented to reinstate the Stuarts on the throne? Should an historian ever undertake to write the history of the extraordinary reveries of the human mind, let him not forget those set forth by the Illuminees on this occasion; and were it not for the eminent use it was of to them for the propagation of their plots, I should never have thought of troubling my reader with it, or of seriously refuting so incoherent a fable. We must next turn our

attention to a coalition more real and far more disastrous, I mean that known under the name of the Germanic Union.

1. Original Writings, Vol. I. last pages.
2. His Letter to Fischer.
3. See his Appendix in the Original Writings, P. 35 and 36.
4. See Eudemonia, Vol. VI. No. 2.
5. The Sieur Boetiger, Director of the Gymnasium at Wiemar, and the auxiliary adept so famous for his Eulogy on Bode, which was only laughed at in Germany, has many other claims to ridicule beside those recorded in his writings. The English may overlook the numerous demands of this kind that he has upon us in about half a dozen Magazine and Reviews in which he co-operates, for his dissertations on the *Roman Ladies*, on their *toilets*, and on their *fans*; on *America* and on *China*; on the *Etruscan Vases*, on the *Acting of a Player*, and in short on many other subjects. But what it most concerns the English people to know, is, that the man, whose authority is set up in favor of the Brotherhood, is as well known in Germany for his talents as a leader of faction as he is for his treatises on toilets and fans. Nor did he on the news of the immortal victory of Admiral Duncan restrain his Jacobin rage in his journals, or blush at saying that *it was doubtful whether* the English had gained this victory by the interference of heaven or hell, *whether it came from above or below* (von oben oder von unten); and that it was opinion of many that it would have been a greater happiness for the *English to have lost the battle than to have gained it*. Such, nevertheless, is the man whom we find placed in competition with, and even set up as an authority against the patriotism of Mr. Robison.

This very same man moreover writes to inform the English that he is no Illuminee. He may gain credit in England; but in Germany he is asked what business he had with the *Minerval Lodges of Weimar*? In what quality could he pretend to inherit the papers of a chief of Illuminism, which, according to the laws of the Sect, could only be entrusted to brethren? Or for what reason, after having been so intimately connected with Bode, does he still continue to be the laborious co-operator of the adept WIELAND in the *New German Mercury*?

This auxiliary adept also writes to the English, that the Duke of Saxe Gotha, on application to him for that purpose, *would doubtless permit the inspection of those papers of Bode's*. But no such invitation is made to the Germans; to them he talks of a *Prince* being in possession of all Bode's papers, but does not venture to name the prince. He knew too well that persons on the spot might attempt to gain that admittance to inspect the papers, if Boetiger's word could be a sufficient incitement to those, who think they have acquired a certainty that the prince possessor has powerful reasons, for *not showing the two trunks* full of papers that he bought at such an immense rate, and for *not giving* an invitation to the public similar to that which the court of Bavaria ordered to be inserted at the head of the Original Writings.

I, in my turn, invite the Author of the *Monthly Magazine* to insert these reflections in his publication, as he did Boetiger's letter in opposition to Mr. Robison in that of Jan. 1798. My reason for making this invitation is, because I have been informed that some persons have been duped by that letter, and really thought that

the existence of this Sect and of its plots, the most monstrous and most subtle that ever existed, was chimerical.

I can also inform my readers, that all the Secret Writings of Bode are not at Gotha. Many of his letters are at this moment printing; and my correspondents inform me, that they perfectly accord with the statements in my Memoirs.

6. See these works and the Original Writings, Vol. II. Let. 22, from Weishaupt and Let. 1 from *Philo*—Also the Circular Letter, Part II. Sect. VI.
7. *Endliche Schicksal*, Page 38.
8. See *Philo's* Circular Letter and his conclusion.
9. *Wahrlich ein project eines Dantons oder Robespierre Wardig* (*Endliche Schicksal*, Page 32).
10. See on this subject the *Endliche Schicksal*, the work entitled *Der aufgezogene Vorhang der Frey Maurery, &c*—And particularly the last hundred pages of the work *Über die Alten und Neuen Mysterien*, Chap. XVI. &c.
11. See the *Jesuits expelled Masonry*, Part I. P. 31 and 32.
12. *Philo's* Circular Letter.
13. Some readers may perhaps tax me with treating this fable, and the proofs adduced by the Illuminees, as absurd and inconceivable, only that I might be dispensed from trouble of refuting demonstrations, perhaps difficult to be answered. Should any such be found among my readers, let them turn to those writings which some of the most famous adepts, such for example as *Mirabeau*, or rather his initiator and recruiter, *Mauvillon*, extol in the highest terms; and which are not (he says) to be looked upon as a mere system, but as a complete digest and exact statement of the principal facts that led in Germany to the discovery of this Masonry of the Jesuits. (See *Mirabeau's Prussian Monarchy*, Vol. V. Book VIII. Page 77). This famous book is entitled *The Jesuits expelled from Masonry, and their Poignard broken by the Masons*. In the very first page we see engraven on a plate this poignard with the compass, the square, the triangles, the eagles, stars, and every thing that he supposes to be the emblem of Scotch Masonry. Should it be asked where this poignard was found, no answer is given; but in the following very ingenious manner the writer pretends to demonstrate that the great authors and directors of Scotch Masonry were Jesuits:

1st. Bonneville declares this Masonry to consist of four degrees, the Apprentice, the Fellow-craft, the Master, and the Scotch Master. The pass-word in these degrees are *Boaz* and *Tubal-cain* for the first; *Shiboleth*, *Chiblin*, *Notuma* for the others. *Boaz* seems to have puzzled him; he therefore rejects it, and only takes the four initials, T.S.C.N.

The Jesuits also had four degrees, the Lay Brothers (that is to say those who, as in all religious Orders, were only admitted as servants, such as the cooks, gardeners, &c. These the Jesuits called *Temporal Coadjutors*. Bonneville overlooks *Coadjutor*, but takes the initial of *Temporal*; and he thus gets T which demonstrates that the Lay Brother Jesuit is the same as the Apprentice Mason, also denoted by T. The second degree among the Jesuits is that of the young students, and these were called *Scolastici* or Scholars; but when they had finished their studies, and taught in their turn, they became *Magistri*, or Masters. The S in *Scolastici* is convenient for Bonneville's demonstration, and it becomes the S of the *Shiboleth* of the Fellow-craft. The third degree of the Jesuits is that of *Spiritual Coadjutor*, who took the three common religious vows; here the C initial of *Coadjutor* is the C of *Chiblim*, and Bonneville

had not the slightest doubt but the spiritual Coadjutor of the Jesuits is the *Master* in Freemasonry. At length comes the fourth degree, or the professed Jesuits, that is, those who to the three first vows have added that of going to preach the Gospel in whatever part of the world the Pope chose to send them. These were all the *professed* Jesuits; but the word *professed* would not serve Bonneville's purpose, he wanted an N; he says therefore, that these *professed* were called *Nostri*, he then gets an N, the evident Notuma of the Scotch Master in Masonry. Thus it is that by comparing the T. S. C. N. of Masonry with the T. S. C. N. that he had discovered among the Jesuits, he proves that the degrees of Scotch Masonry are the same as those of the Jesuits. *See the Jesuits expelled from Masonry, Vol. II. Page 5 and 6.*)

Should the reader desire to know how the word *Mason* precisely answers to the *perfect degree* of the Jesuits, or to their *professed*, Bonneville will tell him that the letters A. B. C. &c. stand for numbers 1, 2, 3, &c. Suppose the Jesuits have adopted this easy cypher, and then the four letters M. A. S. O. will give $12 + 1 + 18 + 14 = 45$, and then remains N, the very initial letter of the *NOSTER the perfect degree of the Jesuits, to which they could only be admitted at the age of forty-five!* (*Ibid. Page 9.*) What a pity (exclaims Bonneville) that this *Noster* should be the *professed Jesuit, professus quatuor votorum* (*Ibid. Page 6*); and a still greater pity (say I) for his position, that, according to the constitutions of the Jesuits, at the age of twenty-five they might be admitted to take the fourth vow, provided they had finished their course of divinity. (*Constit. Societ. Je. Part I. Chap. II. No. 12, de Admittendis.*) Another misfortune was, that even those Jesuits who had taught in their colleges had generally terminated their course of divinity and taken their last vow by the age of *thirty-three*.

Were I to go on to show, that the G, or the *God* of the Masons becomes the General of the Jesuits, because General begins with a G.—that the *Jubal*, or the musician of the Masons, is a Jesuit, because *Jubal* and *Jesuit* both begin with a J.—that the *Hiram-Abif* also of the mysteries is a Jesuit, because $H = 8$ and $A = 1$ and the total $9 = J$.; in short, were I to proceed to enumerate five or six hundred follies of the same nature, all given as proofs of the Jesuits' Masonry, my reader would be almost tempted to believe that I was traducing Bonneville. I must, therefore, refer him to the author himself; and let that man read and study him who is not disgusted at the reading of the first pages, and at the impudence with which this author wishes to impose upon the public.

CHAP. X.

The Germanic Union—Its principal Actors, and the Conquests it prepared for the Illuminees.

AFTER having described so many plots, unmasked so much artifice, and disclosed such various means of delusion and seduction, all issuing from the dens of impiety, why am I forbidden to lay down my pen, and, abandoning these dark haunts of vice, to assume the pleasing talk of describing the habits of the virtuous man, or of a nation happy, and enjoying the sweets of peace beneath the shadow of its laws, and that under a beloved monarch, revered still more as the father than as the sovereign of his peaceful empire? Alas! the sight of such a nation has vanished from the face of the earth; thrones totter and disappear; states weep over the ruins of their religion and of their laws, or are yet painfully struggling with the devouring monster. Danger stalks on every spot; and if happier days are mentioned, it can only stimulate us to denounce the too long concealed causes of our misfortunes, in hopes of seeing once again those nearly-forgotten days return. Though the mind revolts at the idea, yet for the public good we will pursue that tribe of Weishaupt; and, so far from giving repose to our thoughts, we shall be once more hurried into new plots and machinations invented by the most profound adepts of Illuminism, and horridly famous in Germany under the name of the *German Union*. To understand perfectly the object of this Union, the historian must revert to conspiracies anterior to those of Weishaupt.

We have often seen Voltaire boasting of the progress that Infidelity was making in the north of the German Empire. This progress was not solely to be attributed to his labours, nor had he the least suspicion of the many co-operators that were seconding his views.

In the very heart of Protestantism and of its schools, a Conspiracy had been formed against the Protestant and every branch of revealed religion, inveterate in its means and agents as that formed by Holbach's club. The Parisian Sophisters openly attacked Jesus Christ and all Christianity. The clubs, or rather schools, of the North of Germany, under pretence of *purifying the Protestant Religion*, and of restoring it to the principles of true Christianity, stripped it of all the mysteries of the Gospel, reduced it to that species of Deism which they decorate with the name of *Natural Religion*, and thus hoped to lead their adepts to a negation of all Religion. These new lawgivers did not

absolutely proscribe revelation; but revelation was to be subjected to the judgment of their reason.

The Antichristian Conspiracy had originated in France with those men who styled themselves Philosophers, and who professed to be strangers to all theological erudition. In Germany it took rise in the heart of the Universities, and among their Doctors of Divinity. In France the Sophisters conspiring against all Religion cried up the toleration of the Protestants, in hopes of destroying the Catholic faith; in Germany the Protestant Doctors abused that toleration in order to substitute Philosophism to the tenets of their church.

The first of these German Doctors who, under the mask of Theological disquisitions, engaged in this Antichristian Conspiracy, was SEMLER, professor of Divinity in the University of Halle, in Upper Saxony. The only use he appears to have made of his knowledge would lead us to suppose that he imbibed his principles from Bayle, rather than from the true sources of Theology. Like Bayle, we may observe him here and there scattering a few useful truths, but equally inclining toward paradox and scepticism. Rapid as Voltaire, but destitute of his elegance, he can only be compared to that Antichristian Chief for the multitude of contradictions into which he stumbles at every step. "*It is not uncommon to see him begin a sentence with an opinion that he contradicts before he concludes it.* His predominant system, and the only one that can be gathered from his numerous reveries, is, that the symbols of Christianity and of all other Sects are objects of no consequence; that the Christian Religion contains but few truths of any importance; and that every person may select these truths and decide upon them as he pleases. His scepticism has never permitted him to fix upon any religious opinion for himself, unless it be when he clearly professes, that Protestantism is not founded on better grounds than any of the other Sects; *that it still stands in need of a very great reform*; and that this reform should be effected by his Brethren the Doctors of the Universities."¹

This new reformer began to propagate his doctrines as early as the year 1754, and continued to circulate them, in German and in Latin, in a thousand different shapes. At one time in an *Historical and Critical Collection*; at another, in *Free Disquisitions on the Canons or Ecclesiastical Laws*; then in an *Institution of the Christian Doctrine*; and, above all, in an *Essay on the Art and School of a Free Theology*. Soon after a new Doctor appears, attempting to make this desired reform, or to suppress the remaining mysteries that Luther and Calvin had not thought proper to reject. This was WILLIAM ABRAHAM TELLER, at first Professor at Helmstadt in the Dutchy of Brunswick, afterwards Chief of the Consistory and Provost of a Church at Berlin. He made his first essay for destroying the mysteries by publishing a *Catechism*, in which, scoffing at the divinity of Christ, he reduces his religion to Socinianism. Soon after this, his pretended *Dictionary of the Bible* was to teach the Germans "methods to be followed in explaining the Scriptures; by which they were to see no other doctrine in the whole of Christianity than true Naturalism, under the cloak and symbols of Judaism."²

About the same time appeared two other Protestant Doctors, who carried their new-fangled Theology *still nearer to the state* of a degraded and Antichristian Philosophism. These were the Doctors DAMM and BAHRDT; the former the Rector of a College at Berlin, the latter a Doctor of Divinity at Halle, but a man of such infamous morals, that even *Philo-Knigge* was ashamed to see his name among Weishaupt's elect, and did not even dare to pronounce it.³ LOFFLER, the superintendent of the Church of Gotha, ran the same career of impiety, as well as many others whose writings might have been taken for the compositions of the Illuminizing Epopots. The fashion of investigating religion merely to overturn its mysteries became so common in the German provinces, that the Protestant Religion seemed to be doomed to fall by the hands of its own Doctors, when at length a few of those Ministers who were still fired with zeal for their tenets raised their voices to denounce this conspiracy.

The Doctor DESMARÉES, superintendent of the Church of Dessau, in the principality of Anhalt, and the Doctor STARK, famous for his erudition and his conflicts with Illuminism, first called the attention of the public to this rising Sect; the former in his *Letters on the New Pastors of the Protestant Church*, and the latter in his Appendix to the pretended *Crypto-Catholicism and Jesuitism*. Nothing can better probe the wound which the Protestant Church had just received, than the summary view taken of the doctrine of these new pastors, by the superintendent of Dessau in the following terms:

"Our Protestant Divines successively attack all the fundamental articles of Christianity,—They do not let one single article of the general symbol of faith subsist. From the Creation of Heaven and Earth to the Resurrection of the Body, they combat every single article."⁴

While these theological adepts were perverting their science to inundate Germany with their crafty Philosophism, a second confederation was forming at Berlin for the propagation of these works, extolling them as the only productions worthy of the public attention. At the head of this league was one NICOLAI, a Bookseller. Before this man's time we had often seen Booksellers who, actuated by avarice, indiscriminately sold books of the most impious and seditious and others of the most pious tendency; but a phenomenon that had never been seen before, was a Bookseller whose impiety overcame his love of gain, and who would rather sacrifice the profits to be acquired by the sale of religious works, than allow them to be dispersed among the people. Nicolai was a Bookseller of such a stamp as D'Alembert wished to find, and such as he would have been himself had it been his profession. It was exclusively to the propagation of Impiety that he had dedicated his commerce and his literary talents, for he would also be a sophisticated writer. He was not even initiated into the mysteries of Weishaupt, when he had actually formed the plan for overturning the Christian Religion in Germany by one of those means which governments have never yet sufficiently attended to, or been aware of. At the head of his business as a Bookseller, he also undertook to be the compiler of a sort of weekly Encyclopaedia, which he entitled *The Universal German Library*.⁵ At once the compiler and salesman of Impiety, he engaged several

Sophisters to co-operate with him. He also leagued with many men of great learning and merit, whose articles being inserted in his Journal were to serve as a cloak for the more impious ones, whence the readers were to imbibe his baneful principles—The most dangerous articles of this sort were those written by himself, by the famous Jew MENDELSON, by BIESTER, Librarian to the King, and by GEDIKE, Counsellor to the Consistory of Berlin. It was not long, however, before the tendency of this Journal was discovered. It was observed, that all their praises were lavished on those very men whose doctrines were levelled at the total overthrow of those mysteries of Christianity which had been preserved by Luther and Calvin. The man who so well seconded the views of Weishaupt without knowing it could not long escape the notice of the Scrutators. The Sect had one in particular whose name will hereafter become famous; this was the Brother *Leveller*-Leuchsenring, who had been Preceptor to the Princes at Berlin, and afterward to those of Hesse Darmstadt. A fanatical recruiter, and, though loquacious, very reserved on the mysteries, this Leuchsenring was then travelling as an Insinuator. Hanover and Neuwied already bore testimony of his zeal. He had attempted in vain to insinuate the Chevalier Zimmermann; but Nicolai afforded an easy conquest. It was soon complete; Gedike and Biester, following his example, only combined their conspiracy with Weishaupt's mysteries. The Doctor BAHRDT had fallen as easy a prey to the Assessor *Minos*; but the Doctor viewed what had been done by his new Brethren, to second his views and writings against Christianity, as of little avail—He thought he could surpass all the artifices of Weishaupt, Knigge, and Nicolai; and his evil genius afforded him the means.

The plan that he had conceived was nothing less than to reduce Germany, and by process of time the whole world, to the impossibility of receiving any other lessons, or of reading any other productions than those of the Illuminees.—The means of reducing the literary world to this new species of slavery are all contained in the laws laid down by this strange adept for a coalition famous in Germany under the title of the Germanic Union, *Die Deutsche Union*.⁶

This confederacy was to be governed by twenty-two adepts chosen from among that species of men, who by their functions, their knowledge, or their labours, had acquired a greater facility in directing the public opinion toward all the errors of the Sect. The other brethren, dispersed through the different towns, were to contribute by different means toward the grand object under the direction of the *twenty-two*, each of whom had his department assigned to him, as in Weishaupt's Areopage.

The persons who were chiefly to be sought after were authors, post-masters, and booksellers. Princes and their ministers were absolutely excepted against; and people in favour at court, or in the different public offices, were not to be chosen.

These confederates were divided into *simple associates* and *active Brethren*; and the latter alone were initiated into the secret, means, and object, of the coalition. The instructions imparted to the brethren were drawn up in the

same style and method that had long since been adopted by Bahrdt, and other apostates from the protestant universities, to reduce Christianity to their pretended natural religion, by declaring Moses, the Prophets, and even Christ, to have been men distinguished, it is true, by their wisdom, but who had nothing divine either in their doctrines or their works. "To root out superstition, to restore mankind to liberty by enlightening them, to consummate the views of the founder even of Christianity without violent means, such is our object," would they say to the Brethren. "It is for that purpose that we have formed a secret society, to which we invite all those who are actuated by the same views, and are properly sensible of their importance."

As a means of accomplishing these objects, and of propagating their pretended light, these active brethren were to establish in every town certain *literary societies*, or *reading clubs* (*lesegesellschaften*), which were to become the resort of all those who had not the means of procuring the daily publications. These were to attract as many associates as possible to these reading-rooms; watch their opinions, imbue them with the principles of the Order, leave those whose zeal and talents gave but little hopes, among the common brethren; but initiate, after certain preliminary oaths, those who could be of any real service, and who entered fully into the views and plans of the Order.

The society was to have its gazettes and journals, which were to be under the direction of those adepts whose talents were the most conspicuous; and no pains were to be spared to destroy all other periodical prints.

The libraries of these literary societies were to be composed of books all according with the views of the Order. The choice of these books and the care of furnishing them were to be left to the secretaries, and particularly to booksellers who were initiated in the mysteries of the coalition.

The hopes conceived by the man who had planned this association were held out to the elect as an incitement to the founding of new ones. What advantages (would he say) shall we not gain over superstition by thus directing the lectures in our museums? What will we not do for men who, zealous in our cause, and dispersed in all parts, circulate every where, even in the cottages, the productions of our choice? Should we ever be masters of the public opinion, how easy will it be for us to cover with contempt, and bury in oblivion, every fanatical work that may be announced in the other journals, and on the contrary extol those works that are written according to our views. By degrees we shall become masters of the whole trade of bookselling. Then will it be in vain for fanatics to write in defence of superstition and despots, as they will neither find sellers, buyers, nor readers.

Lest booksellers themselves should protest against an institution of this nature, they were to be drawn into it by advantages proposed to them, and by the fear of being ruined should they not accede to the views of the coalition. They were to be assured, that the brethren would employ every possible means to encourage the sale of works that met with the approbation of the union; but would also impede the circulation of, and discredit by their journals all such as were hostile to their views. Neither had they to fear a diminution

in their trade; the association could encourage writers to multiply their productions by ensuring their sale; indeed, funds were to be established to indemnify any bookseller who, in place of selling such works as were inimical to the views of the Union, would leave them concealed in his shop, pretend that he had never heard of such works, or flatly refuse to sell them, thus abusing by every possible means the confidence of authors and of the public.

Such was the plan of *the Germanic Union*, or Dr. Bahrds's master-piece. Never had the desire of tyrannically governing the public opinion invented a more perfidious plan. One might be left to think it the reverie of some evil genius who had sworn to extirpate from the minds of the people all ideas of any social or religious doctrine. There do, however, exist crimes which in the eyes of the honest man are almost chimerical, but which present little difficulty when undertaken by a villain. He that had conceived the plan was with mischievous propriety placed at the head of the association. The dissoluteness and infamy of his morals had not left him wherewith to subsist in any decent way, when on a sudden he purchased, near Halle, a large mansion which he called after his own name *Bahrds-ruhe*. This was soon converted into the head quarters of the new Union. But it could never have acquired any great consistency had it not been for Nicolai, who had long been labouring according to Bahrds's views. The immense correspondence that he had by means of his commerce with the other booksellers of Germany; the sort of dominion that he enjoyed over the literary world by means of his *Universal Library*; the court paid to him by different authors whose fortunes depended on the rank he chose to assign them in his *Library*, or in the *Berlin Journal*, the *Monathschrift*; and more particularly the art with which he contrived to gain over a great number of booksellers, gave him a power that no sovereign could ever pretend to. His illumined co-operators, Biester, Gedike, and Leuchsenring, became more ardent, daring, and impious, than ever in the journals which they compiled. Bode likewise would have one at Weimar under the title of *the Universal Literary Gazette*. Another of the same nature was set on foot at Saltzbourg, by HUBNER, who was also an Illuminee. The offspring of Weishaupt were all warned of the stress which they were to lay on these publications, and they soon became a most terrible scourge on all writers who would not sacrifice their principles to impiety. The fable of the Jesuits' Masonry was now improved by a new fiction that spread dismay in the mind of every writer who wished to oppose the progress of Illuminism.

Those very Jesuits who have just been seen represented as the most artful infidels, and as secretly presiding over the Masonic lodges, were now become most zealous Catholics, who had secretly mingled among the Protestants, in order to bring these provinces back to the Roman Catholic religion and subject them to the dominion of the Pope. Every man who dared defend any one of those mysteries that can only be known either to Catholic or Protestant through Revelation, every man who preached submission to sovereigns and the laws of the state, was immediately proclaimed a *Jesuit*, or the servile slave of Jesuitism. One might have thought that all the protestant provinces were

filled with these Jesuits, secretly conspiring against the protestant religion; and my readers will easily conceive what an impression such a charge must have made to the disadvantage of any writer in those provinces. Neither the office of minister nor of superintendant of a church could screen a person from so terrible an imputation. Even that man was not proof against it, who, out of zeal for Luther and Calvin, had given full vent to all his hatred and prejudices against the Jesuits; I mean Dr. Stark. In his work on *The Ancient and Modern Mysteries* he had declared, "that sovereigns had, by the destruction of the Jesuits, rendered an ever-memorable service to religion, to virtue, and to humanity." Nevertheless, M. Stark, at that time, as he still continues to be, a preacher and doctor of the Lutheran church, and also counsellor of a Consistory at Darmstadt, was obliged to employ many pages of his apology in proving that he was neither a Roman Catholic nor a Jesuit, and particularly that he was not *one of the professed Jesuits, who, having taken the four vows, were obliged at the command of the Pope to go and preach the catholic faith wherever he chose to send them.*⁷

The Chevalier Zimmerman met with a similar fate, merely because he had laid open the plots of the Illuminees, and dared to ridicule the adept *Leveller-Leuchsenring*, who had proposed to initiate him into the Brotherhood that was soon to reform and govern the world.⁸ That celebrated man, an ornament to the Royal Society of London, is nevertheless represented by the journalists of the Sect as an *ignorant fellow, wallowing in superstition, and an enemy of Light.*⁹

The Professor Hoffman, notwithstanding the high encomiums that had been lavished on him by these very journals, no sooner gave proofs of his zeal for religion and social order, than he was represented in similar colours. Never had the disciples of Weishaupt so well practised that law laid down by their teacher, "Discredit by all means possible every man of talents that you cannot bring over to your party." Nicolai gave the signal in his *Germanic Library*, or in the *Berlin Monatschrift*. The brethren of Jena, of Weimar, of Gotha, of Brunswick, and of Slewick, immediately obeyed the signal, and repeated the same calumnies. "Shortly there were no means of screening oneself from a swarm of periodical writers, who had leagued with the modern *Lucian*; they praised what he had praised; they condemned what he had condemned; the same turn in their phrases, even the same terms are to be observed when they praise or when they blame an author, and particularly the same sarcasms and grossness of abuse."¹⁰ Scarcely could there be found in all Germany above two or three journals that were not in the hands of the united brethren, or persons of the same cast.

Meantime the adept writers, together with Bahrtdt, Schultz, Riem, an even *Philo-Knigge*, who, in abandoning the Illuminees had not renounced their plots, with hundreds of other writers of the Sect inundated the public with their libels in verse or prose, under the forms of comedies, romances, songs, and dissertations.—All the tenets of religion Catholic and Protestant were attacked with the most bare-faced impudence. Now the scene began to

change; it was no longer to defend the Protestants against the attacks of the Catholics; but the obliteration of every religious tenet became their obvious design. The most pompous eulogiums were pronounced by the journalists of the Sect on all those productions of the brethren that openly disseminated every principle of Impiety and Sedition.¹¹ But what must appear a still more astonishing contradiction, though perfectly coinciding with the views of the Sect, is, that these very men who wished so despotically to sway the public opinion, and crush every writer that had not imbibed their principles, would pretend to persuade the Sovereigns that their sole object was to obtain that right inherent to them from nature, 'to publish their opinions and systems without danger or constraint.' Bahrtdt in particular vindicated this pretended right, in his publication *On the Liberty of the Press*. It contained the sentiments of a rank Atheist, who wished to imbue his reader with all the most abominable principles of Anarchy and Impiety; the author, nevertheless, was extolled by the hebdomadary adepts, and notwithstanding Bahrtdt's vindication of the liberty of the press, they united all their efforts to crush every writer that dared to assert an opinion contrary to theirs.

The use which the brotherhood made of this liberty at length aroused the attention of some few sovereigns. Frederic William, King of Prussia, alarmed at the progress which these impious and seditious writings were making, thought it necessary to put a curb on them. He published some new regulations, called the *Edicts for Religion*. This was received by the Illuminees with an audacity which seemed to denote that they had already acquired a strength sufficient to bid defiance to sovereigns, and both the Prince and the Edict became the objects of their sarcasms and most violent declamations. At length appeared a work attributed to Bahrtdt, that was the acme of insolence, and, through derision, was also called the *Edict for Religion*. The magistrates ordered to take cognizance of this insult seized on the person and papers of Bahrtdt, and all the necessary proofs of his coalition and of its object were acquired. It might seem that the court of Berlin would have done well to have imitated the example of that of Bavaria by making them public; but the adepts had too powerful agents about the ministry; and numerous arguments were invented for condemning to oblivion these archives of a new species of conspiracy. All that transpired was, that the plan had been really formed, and that a number of authors, booksellers, and persons even who could scarcely have been suspected, had entered into the association. It is not known how far Weishaupt had contributed personally to it; but it appears that he twice attended at the head-quarters of the united brethren; that he spent several days with Bahrtdt; and that the most zealous and active of the united brethren were also disciples of Weishaupt. If we are to believe Bahrtdt, his secret was betrayed by two associates well worthy of their master. These were two young libertines, nearly beggars, but who had the talents and meanness necessary to become the clerks of his impiety. Notwithstanding the proofs adduced against him, he got off with a slight imprisonment, and spent the remainder of his existence in distress, but without atoning for his vices. He was reduced to

keep a coffee-house at Bassendorff near Halle, where he ended his days as miserably as he had lived. The Illuminees have thought fit to abandon his memory to that contempt which his vicious life had entailed upon him; but, though they affected to blush at his name, they nevertheless continued to prosecute his plans.

Indeed, at the time of the discovery of this monstrous conspiracy, it had gained too much ground to be crushed by the fall of its first contriver; and Prussia, and all Germany, soon became infected with those literary societies which were nothing more than a modification of Weishaupt's *Minerval* schools. Nor was there in a short time a town or large village more free from this species of literary societies than from the Illuminized Lodges; and they were all under the direction of the followers of the modern *Spartacus*.

Bahrdt's great object was, to place the associates and other readers under a sort of impossibility of procuring any other writings, or of applying to any other studies, than those of the Sect; and the precaution it had taken to initiate so many booksellers proved a powerful support. The conspiracy might have assumed a new form; but it still continued active, and its effects became more perceptible after its discovery. It was then that the coalition appeared between the booksellers and the journalists of the Sect to suppress all books that counteracted the progress of Sedition and Impiety. It was in vain for virtuous and pious men to attempt to open the eyes of the people; they could scarcely find a bookseller or a printer who would sell or print their works; or if any had consented they would endeavour to disgust the author by delays, and a hundred other pretexts. Did the author undertake to print it at his own expence, the work was then thrown by in some obscure corner of the shop and never exposed to sale, nor would any bookseller attempt to sell it; and the whole work would be sent back to the author under pretence that nobody would buy it. The very existence of such works was not mentioned at the fairs held in Germany for the sale of books. At other times the author was strangely betrayed, the printer giving up his manuscript to the writers of the Sect, and the refutation (if the most scurrilous abuse can deserve that name) was advertised on the back of the book as soon as the first edition made its appearance. Many authors might have brought actions against their printers of a similar nature to that which Doctor Stark was obliged to bring, and demonstrate a similar connivance with the Sect and breach of trust. "At least it is an undeniable fact, that many learned writers made fruitless applications to different booksellers for publications that had been suppressed solely because they gave umbrage to the Illuminees. Their letters were never so much as answered; and the very booksellers who refused to send these books to those who applied for them, affected to defer the sale till the next fairs, as no buyers were to be found." Many others of these works had scarcely been delivered to the booksellers when they were sent back under the most opprobrious pretences; and what may surprise the reader is, that no persons were so certain of receiving such refusals as those who most openly defended their Princes. In the very states of the King of Prussia it was found impossible to get this

sovereign's *Apology* and his *Edict for Religion* sold in the common way. Scarcely had the author sent a few copies to the booksellers when they were all returned to him. But did the writers of the Sect wish to publish the most scandalous disputations and the most scurrilous abuse against sovereigns and religion, or against men in office or of high respectability, the booksellers were alert in selling them, the journalists extolled their excellence, and sought numerous readers for the author.¹²

On one hand, the great trade in these productions carried on by the Sect, with the certainty of selling them to the literary clubs; and on the other the great pecuniary contributions made by the rich brethren, formed large funds for the coalition. To these if we add the sums contributed by the brethren whom the Sect had stationed at different courts, in the church and the councils, either out of their own emoluments, or the revenues of church and state, the reader will easily conceive how well these funds sufficed for indemnifying those booksellers who had suffered losses by restraining their commerce to works approved of by the Areopage. A particular fund was established for this purpose. At the appointed time the bookseller had but to produce the list of the works he had suppressed or refused to sell, with the proper proofs, and he received a sum of money sufficient to indemnify him for such losses. The memorials which I have received from Germany, as well as several letters, inform me that this fund still exists in that country; and the French Revolution has only furnished it with many other means of enriching itself.

Among the great advantages reaped by the Sect from this plan which had been so well concerted, we may first observe the impossibility under which authors lay of warning the public against the artifices of Illuminism. In the next place, it drew over to their interest that swarm of writers who, more hungry than honest, are regardless of truth or falsehood, provided they obtain a good price. In short, it emboldened that multitude of Sophisters, more numerous still in Germany than they were in France; Poets, Historians, and Dramatists, nearly all of whom courted the united brotherhood by assuming the tone of impiety and anarchy. The most dangerous device practised by the adepts against society was the great care with which they initiated the different professors of the Protestant universities, the school-masters, and the tutors of princes. It is a painful truth, but we must declare it, and on the authority of those who are best acquainted with the history and progress of Illuminism, that the greater part of the universities of the north of Germany were at that time, and still continue to be, the haunts of Illuminism, whence its baneful poisons are circulated throughout the neighbouring states by the writings and lectures of such men as the Professors FREDERIC CRAMER, EHLERS, and KOPPE.¹³

Let not the reader think that the writers of the Catholic states were exempt from the infection. Vienna was overrun with zealots who sought to diffuse the principles of the Sect. The Chevalier DE BORN, who should have contented himself with the high rank which he held in chymistry, degraded himself in that town by becoming a leader of the adepts; and when the Sect

was discovered in Bavaria he was so zealous in the cause, that he sent back his letters of Associate of the Academy of Munich, protesting that he would have no intercourse with men who had been so little able to judge of Weishaupt's merits.

Next on the Vienna list we find the Sieur SONNENFELD, one of those writers who in this age are called wits, though destitute of common sense. He also was one of the propagators of Illuminism under the mask of literary societies. I am informed by persons who attended his clubs, and whom he wished to initiate, that these meetings began and were held as common academies hold theirs: but at the time appointed the sittings broke up, when, only the adepts remaining behind, a secret council was held, in which every thing was concerted and planned according to the laws of the united brethren.

A man whose name would have given great weight to the united brethren, had he hearkened to the praise lavished on him by the Illuminees at that time,¹⁴ is the Professor Hoffman, he who so nobly joined with Zimmerman to tear the mask from these impostors, and has ever since, with his worthy co-adjutor, been the object of their most virulent declamations. In the account given by Mr. Hoffman himself, we find that the Illuminizing recruiters followed him as far as Pest in Hungary. On the 26th of June, 1788, he received from the *twenty-two chiefs* an invitation to become a fellow of the literary society which they had already established in that town. "My answer (says he) was, that I hoped they would give me some further information respecting these societies, and then my duty and my prudence would dictate the answer that I should make...On divers occasions afterward, they gave me distant hints as to the spirit of their system. They also sent me several times a list of the new members; and the signature of the twenty-two authenticated these various documents; but it was this very authentication which made me conceive the horrid plot that was concealed under this association."

The reader will easily conceive, that for a man of his merit and probity, this was more than sufficient to make him reject the offers of such a brotherhood. They had already inscribed his name on their registers, and they were obliged to erase it. As a proof that he had judged rightly of them, he quotes the letter of a virtuous and clear-sighted statesman, who, after having *officially* examined the whole plan of the German Union and its mysteries, pronounces them to be *abominations that would make one's hair stand on end!* Such are his expressions!

These abominations, however, were far from making a similar impression on the other apostles of the Germanic Union. Meanwhile Weishaupt, a tranquil spectator of the progress of his Illuminism, seemed to take no part in it. The most active adepts lived round about him at Gotha, at Weimar, at Jena and at Berlin; but one might have thought him quite indifferent as to their success. If we except the visits he received from the brethren, a few journeys that he took, and particularly those which he had made to see the founder of the Germanic Union, nothing could depose against him as the founder or chief who continued to direct the plots of the Sect. But let the reader never

lose sight of his precepts on the art of appearing perfectly idle in the midst of the greatest activity; let him reflect on those menaces which he issued six months after his flight from Munich: *Let our enemies rejoice. Their joy shall soon be changed into sorrow. Don't think that even in my banishment I shall remain idle.*¹⁵ After this, it is easy to judge of his supposed nullity in the progress of his conspiracy. However secret he may have been in the part he was acting, he could observe but too well the approaching accomplishment of the prediction he had made so early as the second year of his Illuminism, when he wrote to his first adepts, "The great obstacles are overcome; you will now see us proceed with gigantic strides." The Sect had not been in existence twelve years when Germany was overrun with an immense number of adepts and demi-adepts. It was assuming a menacing aspect in Holland, in Hungary, and in Italy. One of the adepts called ZIMMERMAN, who began by being the chief of a Lodge at Manheim, and who soon became as zealous for the propagation of the Sect, as the famous ZIMMERMAN had been to counteract their dark designs, would often brag that he had founded more than a hundred of those conspiring clubs known under the name of literary societies, or of Masonic Lodges, during his career through Italy, Hungary, and Switzerland. To give the fatal impulse to the world, it now only remained for the Sect to carry its mysteries into a nation powerful and active indeed, but unfortunately more susceptible of that effervescence which bereaves man of the power of thinking, than of that judgment which foresees disasters; to a nation which, in its ardor and enthusiasm, too easily forgets that true greatness is not that courage which bids defiance to danger (for the vandals and barbarians can boast of such heroes); to a nation, in short, that has ever been prey to illusions, and which, before it would hearken to the councils of wisdom, might in its first fury overturn the altar and shiver the scepter, returning to reason only in time to weep over the ruins, and lament the devastation of which it had been the cause.

This description unfortunately was too applicable to France, which in many respects might claim the primacy among nations, but was too easily led away by illusions. The scrutinizing Areopage had fixed its eyes on her, and now judged it a convenient time for sending its emissaries to the banks of the Seine. This will be the proper commencement of the fourth Epoch of Illuminism. Now let the reader prepare to contemplate states convulsed, citizens butchered, in a word, to ponder over all the crimes and disasters inherent in the very nature of Revolutions.

1. See *News of a Secret Coalition against Religion and Monarchy*. The Appendix, No. 9.
2. Ibid. Appendix, No. 10.
3. Endliche erklärung, P. 132.
4. Protestantische Gottesgelehrten greifen einen grund artikel des Christenthums nach dem andern an; lassen in ganzen Allgemeinen Glaubens-bekenniss vom Schöpfer himmels und der erde, bis zur auferstehung des fleisches nicht unangefochten—(*Über die neuen wächter der Protestantischen Kirche; erstes heft*, S. 10).

5. I have quoted his *Essay on the Templars*; and I thought myself bound to do so, because I found that his researches perfectly coincided with those which I had made on the accusations preferred against those Knights, and on the proofs that appeared on the face of the most authentic documents relating to their judgment. I was not, however, on that account less concerned to see the Impiety with which these researches are replete. I also observed all that ridiculous display of erudition on the *Baffomet* of the Templars; but I cannot deny that his quotations are perfectly exact.
6. The *Sieur Boettiger* writes from Germany, and his letter is inserted in the *Monthly Magazine for January 1798*, that this plan, and the whole confederation of Doctor Bahrdt, are only known to Mr. Robison through the medium of the *obscure and despicable Journal of Geissen*. This journal of Geissen was never *despicable* in any one's eyes but those of the Illuminees, or of their votaries. They had reasons for crying it down; and those very reasons must enhance its value in the eyes of every honest man. In the next place, how can this Boettiger presume to assert that this Journal was the only source whence Mr. Robison had derived his information? The great number of works quoted by Mr. Robison must evidently belie such an assertion, and I willingly declare that it was difficult to procure more. Had he been in possession of no other than the famous work known in Germany under the title of *Mehr Noten als Text, oder, die Deutsche Union der Zwei und Zwanziger* (More notes than Text; or, the German Union of the Twenty-Two), that work which, according to Boettiger, alone sufficed to open the eyes of the public, is that only known by the Journal of Giessen? With a similar assurance does this champion of Illuminism assert this work to have been written by Bode, as if there could be the least probability that Bode, who had taken so active a part in this conspiracy, would be very forward in laying it open to the public, and exposing the *Baronne de Recke, Countess of Medem*, the daughter of *Wandern* (the *Stroller*), to public ridicule, a woman whose charms he so much admired, and with whose writings he was so well acquainted. If Bode was the writer of this publication, which so well displays the knavery of the German Union, how comes it to pass that Mr. Göschel, a Bookseller of Leipsic, has avowed himself the author of it, and is universally acknowledged as such? My readers must perceive, that by entering into these digressions, I only design to warn the public against the different publications which the Illuminees are daily dispersing to persuade nations that their plots are chimerical, while they are pursuing them with redoubled ardor.
- I shall also follow nearly the same documents that Mr. Robison has adopted, as they perfectly coincide with the memorials that I have received from Germany. All that I shall lay before my readers in this chapter may be said to be extracts from the following German writings: *News of a great and invisible confederation against the Christian religion and monarchy.—The System of the Cosmopolitans discovered.—The Vienna Journal by Hoffmann.—Notice given before it is too late*, by the same.—*More Notes than Text, &c.—The Knowledge of the World and of Men, &c.* besides many other private letters and memorials on the Illuminees.
7. See his Apology, Page 52 to 59.
8. Life of Zimmerman, by Tissot.
9. Ibid.
10. The ultimate fate of Masonry, Page 30; and News of an Invisible Association, Appendix, No. 11.
11. Ibid.

12. See Nachrichten von einem grossen aber unsichtbaren Bunde, the Appendix, Nos. 8 and 13, and the Journal of Vienna, by Hoffmann.
13. See Hoffman's admonition, Sect. XVI, XVII, and XVIII.
14. It is really laughable to compare the contempt which the Illuminees affect for Mr. Hoffman at present with the high encomiums which they pronounced on him before he undertook to lay open their imposture, or even with those letters (full of compliments on his wit, style, and talents) which they wrote to him so lately as the year 1790, in hopes of enticing him into their party.
15. Letter to Fisher, 9 Aug. 1785.

CHAP. XI.

Fourth Epoch of Illuminism.

The Deputation from Weishaupt's Illuminees to the Free Masons of Paris. —State of French Masonry at that period.—Labours and Successes of the Deputies.—Coalition of the Conspiring Sophisters, Masons, and Illuminees, generating the Jacobins.

AS early as the year 1782, *Philo* and *Spartacus* had formed the plan of converting the French nation to their System of Illuminism; but the vivacity and capricious temper of the people, so difficult to be restrained, made it seem prudent for the two Chiefs at that time not to extend their attempts beyond Strasbourg. The explosion in France might be premature; its too volatile and impetuous people might be unwilling to wait till other nations were properly prepared for the grand object; and Weishaupt, in particular, was not a man to be satisfied with partial or local insurrections, which might only serve to put other Sovereigns on their guard. The Reader has already seen him in secret, preparing his Adepts, and contriving the concatenation of his correspondence, in such a manner, that he had but to give the signal when the favourable moment should come. On the fatal day of revolution, and at the appointed hour, legions of brethren were to spring forth on all sides from their secret recesses, whether Lodges, Academies, or under what other denomination soever, from the North to the South, and from the East to the West. All Europe, in short, was to be revolutionized at the same instant; all nations were to be hurried into a 14th of July; and all kings were, like Lewis the Sixteenth, to awake prisoners in the hands of their own subjects. Altars and thrones were simultaneously to vanish from the earth. According to this plan, as has just been observed, the French were to be the last people initiated in the mysteries, as the Chiefs took it for granted, that with their natural impatience they would never be brought to wait till the explosion could be universally prepared.

Already, however, there existed some adepts in the very heart of the kingdom. Some few had been initiated by Knigge at the time of the meeting at Wilhelmsbaden. During that very year, we find on the list of brethren, DIETRICH, that Mayor of Strasbourg who has since in Alsace rivalled Robespierre by his cruelties.¹ Another adept of vast importance to the Sect was the Marquis DE MIRABEAU, who was afterwards to become so famous in the revolutionary annals of his country. What strange infatuation possessed the

ministers of the most honest man that ever swayed a sceptre, to entrust this Marquis with the interests of their master at the court of Berlin, well knowing (as they did) the monstrous immorality of his private life, is more than I shall attempt to explain. One might be led to think that it was not deemed sufficient that Lewis XVI had saved him from the scaffold, but his villany was to be recompensed by a secret mission which seemed to denote the utmost confidence of his sovereign. Mirabeau at Berlin conducted the King's affairs just as he had formerly done those of his father and mother, fully ready to sacrifice all parties and to sell himself to the highest bidder. With such a disposition, he could not long avoid the notice of the Prussian Illuminees; and Nicolai, Biester, Gedicke, and Leuchsenring soon became his constant companions. At Brunswick he met with MAUVILLON, the worthy disciple of Knigge, and at that time a Professor in the Caroline College. This was the man who initiated the profligate Marquis in the last mysteries of Illuminism.²

Long before his initiation Mirabeau had been acquainted with all the revolutionary powers of the Masonic Lodges; nor did he, when initiated, undervalue those which flowed or might flow from Weishaupt's inventive genius. On his return to France he began to introduce the new mysteries among some of his Masonic brethren. His first associate was the Abbé TALLEYRAND DE PÉRIGORD, who had already begun to act the part of Judas in the first order of the church. But to have only introduced the mysteries was not sufficient for the Marquis; he would have teachers come from Germany, who were better versed than he was in the illuminizing arts. Well acquainted with the reasons that had induced the Chiefs of the Order to defer the conversion of France, he found means to convince them, that the time was now come for the accomplishment of their views; that the whole nation waited for their new revolutionary means, to burst into an open rebellion, for which they had been so long prepared by other conspirators; and that the Illuminees might most certainly turn the scales. A private correspondence then took place between him and Mauvillon;³ but of this a sufficiency has not transpired to enable the historian to describe the intrigues that took place on the occasion; certain it is, however, that Mirabeau's plan was adopted by the Areopage; and by a plurality of votes it was decided, that France should be immediately illuminized. This was an undertaking of too great importance to be entrusted to a common adept. The man who, since the retreat of *Spartacus*, had been looked upon as the Chief of the Order, offered himself; and *Amelius-BODE*, the worthy successor of both Knigge and Weishaupt, was deputed to the French Lodges, in which the illuminization was to commence. Bode received as an associate in this mission *Bayard*, that other pupil of Knigge's, whose real name was WILLIAM BARON DE BUSCHE, a Captain in the Dutch service, heir to a large fortune, a man of talents, and well versed in all that artifice and low cunning which the Insinulators were wont to style prudence and wisdom. This Baron had been formerly employed to propagate the plots of the Sect in those very provinces which had a right to expect from him even the sacrifice of his life in defence of its laws.⁴ The zeal with which he had

fulfilled his first mission seemed to give him an indisputable title to the honour of attending on the Chief of the Order in his journey to Paris.

Circumstances could not have been more favourable than they were at that time for the deputies, nor more disastrous for France. The Philosophism of the age had operated on the Lodges as fully as could be expected, to prepare the reign of that Equality and Liberty taught by Voltaire and Rousseau, and which only needed the last mysteries of Weishaupt to convert them into the most abominable impiety and most absolute anarchy. A line had been drawn between the degrees of ancient and modern Masonry. The former, with their puerile pastimes, and obscure symbols, were left to the commonalty of the Brethren. The latter, styled *philosophical*, comprehended those which I have described under the titles of *Knights of the Sun*, the higher *Rosicrucians*, and the *Knights Kadosch*. At the head of all these societies (whether ancient or modern) were three Lodges at Paris, particularly remarkable for the authority which they exercised over the rest of the Order, and for the influence that they possessed over the opinions of the Brethren.

The first of these, *The Grand Orient*, was rather a *re-union of all the regular Lodges of the kingdom (represented by their deputies)* than a Lodge. It might be called a sort of Masonic Parliament subdivided into four Committees, which, when united, formed the Grand Council or Lodge, where all the affairs of the Order *were definitely determined*. The Committees were sub-divided into that of *Administration, of Paris, of the Provinces, and of the Degrees*. Of all these, the latter was the mainspring and the most impenetrable; for no visitors were admitted to it, as they were to the three others, to the ordinary meetings of which all Masters or *Venerables* of Lodges had free access.

Three great Officers of the Order were attached to this Masonic Parliament; to wit, *The Great Master, the General Administrator, and the Great Conservator*. His most Serene Highness *Brother Philip* of Orleans, first Prince of the blood, was Grand Master at the time when the Illuminees arrived in Paris. The two other offices were filled by persons of the first distinction; but their characters are such, that they will ever stand incontestable proofs of what I have already asserted, that even in the very highest degrees of the Order, there were modified mysteries for those who, by their rank, were to serve as a protection for its plots without every surmising their tendency.⁵

Such, however, was not the case with Philip of Orleans. His rank of Grand Master, his impiety, and insatiable thirst for vengeance, sufficiently demonstrated to the Illuminizing Missionaries how well he was qualified and how far prepared to second their designs in the multitude of Lodges that recognized him as Grand Master.—So early as the year 1787 we find that France contained (as may be seen in the statement of its Correspondence) two hundred and eighty-two towns, in which were to be found regular Lodges under the direction of the Grand Master. In Paris alone there existed eighty-one; sixteen at Lyons, seven at Bourdeaux, five at Nantees, six at Marseilles, ten at Montpellier, ten at Toulouse; in short, in almost every town the Lodges were in pretty just ratio to the population. Indeed, it would seem that even

this vast empire over French Masonry was not sufficient for the Grand Orient, as by the same statement we find the Grand Master issuing out his instructions to the Lodges of Chambery in Savoy, of Locle in Switzerland, of Bruxelles in Brabant, of Cologne, Liege and Spa in Westphalia, of Leopold and Warsaw in Poland, of Moscow in Russia, of Portsmouth in Virginia, of Fort Royal in Grenada, and in short to Lodges in all the French Colonies. Thus did Philip of Orleans and his *Grand Orient* ensure to the Illuminees as powerful an alliance as that formerly made by Knigge with the German lodges under the direction of Weishaupt.⁶

Subject to the Grand Orient we next find at Paris a Lodge called *Les Amis Réunis* (or United Friends), which was more particularly charged with all Foreign Correspondence. The famous Revolutionist SAVALETTE de Lange, was one of its leading members. This adept held under government the office of *Garde du Trésor Royal*; that is to say, he enjoyed that confidence to which none but the most faithful subject could be entitled; yet at that very time was he engaged in the various plots and mysteries of all the different Sects. In order to form an union of them all, he had introduced into his Lodge the different systems of the Sophisters, of the Martinists and of the other Masons; and, the more to impose on the Public, he also introduced all the luxuries and amusements of the Great. Concerts and balls made Brethren of high rank flock to his Lodge, and they came with the most brilliant equipages. Soldiers stood sentry in the avenues, that the multitude of carriages might not occasion disorder; indeed a stranger might have thought that it was under the auspices of the King himself that these balls were given. The Lodge was resplendent, as the more wealthy Masons contributed to the expences of the Orchestra, lights, refreshments, and, in short, of all those diversions which appeared to be the sole object of their union. But while the Brethren were dancing with their female adepts, or were chaunting in the common Lodge-room the sweets of Equality and Liberty, they little suspected that a *Secret Committee* held its sittings over their heads, and were employed in preparing the means for diffusing that Equality and Liberty over all ranks and conditions, from the palace to the cot.

It was actually over the common Lodge-room that the Committee held its sitting, under the title of *The Secret Committee of United Friends*, whose grand adepts were two men equally famous in the mysteries at Lyons and at Paris. These were WILLERMOZ and CHAPPE DE LA HENRIÈRE. During the whole time of the festivity two tylers, with drawn swords, stood, one at the bottom of the staircase, the other near the upper door, to defend the entrance of the new Sanctuary, where were kept the archives of the Secret Correspondence. Even the man to whom all the packets from the Brethren of Germany or Italy were directed, was not permitted to pass beyond the threshold of the door. He was unacquainted with the cypher of the Correspondence; his duty was merely to carry the packets to the door of the Committee,⁷ Savalette de Lange came to receive them, and the secret never transpired beyond the walls of the Committee. The Reader may easily conceive the nature of this Correspon-

dence, and of the Councils held in consequence of it, when he is informed, that to gain admittance into this Secret Committee, it was not sufficient to have been initiated in all the degrees of Ancient Masonry, but it was necessary to be a *Master of all the Philosophical Degrees*; that is to say, to have sworn *hatred to Christianity* with the Knights of the Sun, and *hatred to every worship, and to all Kings* with the Knights of Kadosch.

There existed other lurking haunts of rebellion, less known, but still more formidable; such as that in the *Rue de la Sourdiere*, where the Brethren of Avignon, pupils of Swedenborg and St. Martin, came to mingle their mysteries with those of the Rosicrucians and other Masons both ancient and sophisticated. In public, under the disguise of quacks and visionary ghost-raiders, these new adepts spoke of nothing but their powers of evoking spirits, raising and interrogating the dead, and a hundred other phenomena of a similar nature. But in the dark recesses of their Lodges, these new law-givers were fostering plots nearly of the same tendency as those of Weishaupt, but more atrocious in their construction. I have already exposed their disorganizing mysteries in treating of Swedenborg and St. Martin. I scarcely dared to credit the horrid trials and abominable oaths said by several writers to be exacted from the adepts. I could wish to have spoken of them on the authority only of the adepts themselves or of the Code; but those with whom I have as yet been acquainted, had only been initiated in part of the mysteries; yet by what they had learned, it will not be difficult for the reader to form a judgment of the remainder.

It is an incontestable fact to begin with, that Swedenborg's Illuminees, styled in France the Martinists, and also calling themselves the *beneficent Knights*, had their travelling adepts after the manner of the Illuminees of Weishaupt. It is also certain, that these pretended *Philaletes*, or lovers of truth, had formed a code of laws for themselves, had organized societies, and like Weishaupt, had intruded themselves into the Masonic Lodges, there to search after men who might be disposed to receive their mysteries, and adopt their new degrees. Among the latter was one called the *Knights of the Phoenix*. A Knight of this degree giving himself out for a Saxon, and a Baron of the Holy Roman Empire, possessed of the most pompous certificates from several Princes of Germany, came to exercise his Apostleship in France a very few years before the late Revolution.⁸ After having spent some time in a *central* town, visited the Lodges, and observed the Brethren, he thought that he had discovered three worthy of being initiated in the higher sciences. The *Venerable* or Master of the Lodge, in whose words we shall relate the story, was one of these worthies. "All things agreed on," said the Venerable, "we three waited on our Illuminee, ardent to be initiated in the new mysteries which he had promised.

"As he could not subject us to the ordinary trials, he dispensed with them as much as lay in his power. In the middle of his apartment he had prepared a chaffing-dish with a brasier full of fire; on his table were various symbols, and among others a Phoenix encompassed by a Serpent with its tail in its

mouth, forming a circle. The explanation of the mysteries began by that of the brasier and other symbols. 'This brasier (said he) is here to teach you, that *fire is the principle of all things*; that it is the great agent of nature, and imparts action to bodies. That man receives from that agent life; with the power of thinking and of acting.' Such was the tenor of the first lesson. Our Illuminee then proceeded to explain the other symbols.—'This serpent forming a circle (says he) is the emblem of the *Eternity of the World*, which, like this serpent, has neither *beginning nor end*. The serpent, you may also know, has the property of annually renovating its skin; this will figure to you the revolutions of the universe, and of nature, which appears to weaken and even to perish at certain epochs, but which, in the immensity of ages, only grows old to become young again, and to prepare for new revolutions. This Phœnix is a still more natural exposition of the succession and perpetuation of these phenomena. Mythology has represented this bird as re-vivifying from its own ashes, only to show how the universe is reproduced, and will continue to be so, from itself.'

"Thus far the Illuminizing Baron had taught us, under the common promise of secrecy, when on a sudden he stopped and informed us, that he could not proceed any farther without previously exacting an oath, the formula of which he read to us, to see whether we were disposed to take it. We all shuddered at hearing it. The exact words I do not pretend to state; but it was a promise, in the most execrable terms, to obey the chiefs of his Illuminism. We endeavoured to conceal our indignation, that we might hear to what lengths he would proceed; he then came to the promise of *renouncing and abjuring the most sacred ties, those of citizen, of subject, of one's family, of father, mother, friend, children, husband*. At these words one of the three, unable to endure it any longer, sallied forth from the room, returned with a drawn sword in his hand, and ran at the Illuminizing Baron in a most violent rage. We were happy enough to stop and hold him until he had recovered his senses a little. Then, however, our colleague burst into the most violent passion, abusing the Baron for a rascal, and telling him, that if he were not out of the town in twenty-four hours he would have him taken up and hanged." The reader will readily suppose that the Baron made the best of his way out of the place.

Another affair that may throw some light on this monstrous Sect took place at Vienna. A young man of high birth, and who has signalized himself by his bravery during this war, felt an impulse, like many others of his age, to become a Freemason. His Lodge, though he knew it not, was one of those under the direction of the same species of Illuminees. He had often been made the bearer of letters which he strongly suspected. At length he determined not to deliver them, under pretence that he had not found the persons at home to whom they were directed, but in fact because he did not wish to be made the instrument of treason. Curiosity, however, getting the better of him, he still continued to solicit admission to the higher degrees. At length his initiation was fixed for the next day, when he received a letter demanding an immediate interview, and written in the most pressing style. When he came to the place

appointed, he found an adept, the former friend of his father. "I am now taking such a step (said he), that the least indiscretion on your part will most certainly cost me my life; but I thought myself bound to it in consequence of the friendship which your father always shewed me and the regard that I have personally for yourself. I am a lost man if you do not keep my secret; but on the other hand, you are for ever undone if you present yourself at the Lodge to receive the degree for which you have been soliciting. I know you too well to think that you would take the oath which will be proposed to you: You cannot dissemble; and still less will you be able to think or act as they would wish to make you. Horror will betray you, and then all will be over with you. You are already on the **BLACK LIST** as *suspected*. Knowing you as I do, I can assure you that you will soon be on the *Red*, or **BLOOD LIST** (*blode list*); and then never flatter yourself with a hope to escape the poisons or the assassins of the Sect." This youth's resolution was not to be subdued by fear. Before he would acquiesce, he wished at least to be made acquainted with some of those terrible engagements in which he was to bind himself, and which he should not be able to keep. His friend then explained the oath that would be required, and he found it to be no other than the utter renunciation of all the most sacred ties of Religion, of Society, and of nature; and a vow to recognize no other law than the commands of the Illuminizing Superiors. He shuddered at hearing of such bonds; he found means of deferring his initiation, and abandoned the Lodges entirely before it was too late. Since the Revolution, circumstances have induced this Gentleman to leave the Austrian service and engage in the English; but it was from his own mouth that I learned how much he feared that his friend had been put on the *Red List* for the friendly service he had rendered him. Certain it is that he heard of his death a short time after this interview had taken place.

The reader will naturally wish to return to our Bavarian Illuminees; but that he may better understand what was and what ought to be the effect of their mission, I must first describe the composition of the Lodge in which they were to be received; and for that purpose, I must again insist on those Illuminees so well known in France under the name of *Theosophes*. Let us compare the above-mentioned *black list* and **BLOOD LIST** with an anecdote that indeed I could never credit until I was at length informed of the circumstances by men who were perfectly well acquainted with them. Every body knew that the large mansion of Ermenonville, belonging to Mr. Gerardin, and situated about thirty miles from Paris, was a principal haunt of Illuminism. It is also well known, that there, at the tomb of Jean Jacques Rousseau, under pretence of regenerating man and restoring him to the age of nature, the most horrible dissoluteness of morals was practised.—The famous impostor *Saint Germain* presided over these mysteries; he was the God of them, and he also had his *blood list*. The Chevalier de LESCURE fell a fatal victim to it. He wished to withdraw from this horrid society; perhaps even to discover its abominations. Poison was mingled with his drink, and he was not a stranger to the cause of his death. Before he expired he positively declared to the MARQUIS DE

MONTROI, a general officer, that he fell victim to this infamous crew of Illuminees.⁹

Having ascertained these facts, I shall no longer hesitate to consider as so many historical truths, first, all the oaths and wishes for the destruction of the Altar and the Throne; secondly, all those doctrines so exactly coinciding with what has been already extracted from the works of the Sect; and, lastly, all those abominable oaths and horrid trials described by a multitude of authors. Nor shall I be guilty of calumny when I declare, that the sole difference between this Sect and Weishaupt's lies in the ceremonial. Atheism is as precisely the ultimate object of their theosophy, as it is of Weishaupt's mysteries. Neither will allow, that the man of nature can be bound by the laws of society; both declare, that sovereigns are nothing more than tyrants; and both agree, that all means of annihilating Priests, Kings, Altars, and Laws, (however atrocious they may be in themselves) become meritorious and noble when directed to that end. But they excel even the modern *Spartacus* in their arts for kindling and inflaming the zeal of their assassins and parricides. That the means of the former are not to be compared with those of the latter, let the reader decide on the following statement.

When one of those unfortunate men who have been led away by the Sect into all the illusions of their visions wishes to be initiated into the art of prodigies, the science of sciences, in short into the last secrets of the adepts, the proposition is made to him to consummate his devotion to the superiors who are entrusted with these sciences. This will be a new contract, and will make him the blind instrument of all the plots into which he will soon be plunged. On the day appointed for his initiation he is led through dark windings to the den of trials. In this cavern the image of death, the mechanism of spectres, potions of blood, sepulchral lamps, subterraneous voices, every thing, in short, that can affright the imagination, and successively hurry him from terror to enthusiasm, is put in action, until at length, worn out by fright, fatigue, hope or enthusiasm, the candidate is so perfectly deprived of his reason, that he cannot help following any impulse that he may receive. Then it is that the voice of the invisible Hierophant bursts forth from this abyss, makes the vaults resound with its menaces, and prescribes the following execrable oath, which the Candidate repeats after him:

"I here break all the ties of the flesh that bind me to father, mother, brothers, sisters, wife, relations, friends, *mistresses*, kings, chiefs, benefactors; in short, to every person to whom I have promised faith, obedience, gratitude, or service."

"I swear to reveal to the new chief whom I acknowledged every thing that I shall have seen, done, read, heard, learned or discovered; and even to seek after and spy into things that might otherwise escape my notice. I swear to revere the *Aqua Tophana*, as a certain, prompt, and necessary means of ridding the earth, by the death of stupefaction of those who revile the truth, or seek to wrest it from my hands."¹⁰

Scarcely has the candidate pronounced this oath when the same voice informs him, that from that instant he is released *from all other oaths that he had taken either to his country or to the laws*. "Fly (it says) the temptation of ever revealing what you have just heard; for lightning is not more instantaneous than the dagger that shall reach you in whatever part of the world you may be."

Thus did this atrocious Sect form its adepts. Springing from the delirious reveries of a Swedenborg, it travels from England to Avignon, Lyons, and Paris. In this latter town, and as early as the year 1781, a club of this species of Illuminees (to the number of 125 or 130) had formed itself, holding its sittings in the above-mentioned Rue de la Sourdiere. Savalette de Lange, the same man whom we have seen so immersed in the correspondence of the Committee of the *Amis Reunis*, presided over this club. The famous Count St. Germain often held meetings at this same Lodge. CAGLIOSTRO was invited to it by a special deputation for the purpose. Hitherto this man's mysteries had only been those of an impostor; but here he soon learned to be a conspirator. It was from this Lodge that he derived that knowledge of the revolution which he pretended to foretel in a sort of prophetic cant when he made his appearance in London after he had been liberated from the Bastille. It was thence that he received his missions for Rome, where he was to sow the seeds of Revolution. One of the Adepts that had been deputed to him was a Mr. RAYMOND, who had been the master of the Post-office at Besancon. He was an enthusiast, and his imagination was bewildered with Swedenborg's visions. From him the knowledge was derived of this Lodge having had a hundred and thirty resident members at Paris, and more than a *hundred and fifty* travelling members or correspondents in different parts of the Globe; that, after the example of Holbach's club, they had their compilers and printers who were circulating their revolutionary poisons among all classes of the people.¹¹ In the person of DIETRICH, Secretary to the Lodge, we find every species of Illuminism. CONDORCET also was a member; he who needed only to be made acquainted with Weishaupt's plots to belong to every conspiring Sect; though it is not certain, that Dietrich had not already put him in direct correspondence with the modern *Spartacus*.—Let the reader mark well of what persons this Lodge was composed. We shall have occasion to advert to it again for the illustration of many a sanguinary scene. In the mean time let us take a view of other masonic haunts, that we may discover all these different Sects, the harbingers of such horrors, uniting and combining into one hideous mass of conspirators under the disastrous name of Jacobins.

Beside the lodges that I have already named, there existed two others in Paris, the more remarkable as they shew how the conspirators would as it were class themselves according to the degree of error they had adopted, or the views that had prompted them to engage in the general conspiracy. One of these Lodges was called *the Nine Sisters*. This was the re-union of the Masonic brethren who styled themselves Philosophers. The other was named the *Lodge of Candor*, and was chiefly composed of those Masons who in the world held

a high rank and bore titles of nobility, while in the Lodges they traiterously conspired against Nobility, and more particularly against the monarchy and against religion.

The unfortunate *Duke de la Rochefoucault*, at once the dupe and protector of the Sophisters, belonged to the Lodge of the *Nine Sisters*. *Pastoret* was the Master of it, he who in public appeared to sacrifice to rank and riches, and even to court religion; but whose revolutionary career would have caused less surprise had the active part he had taken in the dark recesses of this Lodge been more generally known. The name of *Condorcet* also appears here, as it does in every haunt of rebellion. Together with him we find a long list of all the Sophisters of the day, such as *Brissot*, *Garat*, the commander *Dolomieu*, *Lacepede*, *Bailly*, *Camille Desmoulins*, *Cerutti*, *Fourcroy*, *Danton*, *Millin*, *Lalande*, *Bonne*, *Chateau Randon*, *Chenier*, *Mercier*, *Gudin*, *La Metherie*, and the *Marquis de la Salle*, who, not finding the Lodge of the Social Contract sufficiently philosophized, had come over to *Condorcet*. There was also *Champfort*, who never could think that the revolution of Equality and Liberty advanced with sufficient rapidity, till at length, fettered in its chains, he could find no other resource in his Philosophism than suicide. Among the apostate clergy that had flocked thither, we find *Noel*, *Pingré*, and *Mulot*. The two latter, together with *Lalande*, were also members of the Secret Committee of the *Grand Orient*. *Dom Gerles*, in company with *Rabaud de St. Etienne* and *Petion*, came and joined the Lodge of the *Nine Sisters* in the early time of the revolution. *Fauchet* took his station at the *Bouche de Fer*, with *Goupil de Preseln* and *Bonneville*. As to *Syeyes*, the most zealous of this brotherhood and of the whole revolutionary crew, he had formed a new Lodge at the *Palais Royal*, called the *Club of the Twenty-two*, and composed of the chosen of the Elect.

Such persons as wish to form a precise idea of the revolutionary spirit that predominated in this Lodge, need only to consult those works published by its members, when the court, at the instigation of *Necker*, imprudently invited all the Sophisters to lay before the public their views on the composition of the States General. A work of this nature, written by *La Metherie*, being read at the hotel, and in presence of the *Duke de la Rochefoucault*, a French nobleman, who has since mentioned it to me, ventured to say, that the positions laid down in that work were derogatory to the rights of the sovereign and to religion, 'Well, (said the duke, a mere dupe of his Sophisters,) either the court will admit of these plans, and then we shall be able to arrange matters as we please; or else, the court will reject them, and in that case we must do without a king.' Such, indeed, was the opinion generally entertained and declared by the sophisticated Masons, such as *Bailly*, *Gudin*, *La Metherie*, *Dupont*, &c.¹² They wished to establish a king subjected to all their theory of Equality, Liberty, and Sovereignty of the people; but it was only through them that the people were to dictate the laws; and some of these *soi-disant* sages wished to annihilate royalty entirely. Several of them, such as *Brissot* and his faction, already showed dispositions to reject all terms with the throne; and reviling it was only the prelude to its utter subversion.

There was another set of brethren, who frequented the *Loge de la Candeur*; but, following other plans, they sought to combine their ambition with the Masonic Equality and Liberty. There did *La Fayette*, the disciple of Syeyes, lisping the *Rights of Man*, and already asserting that *insurrection was a most sacred duty*, dream that he was the rival of the immortal Washington. The Brothers *Lameth*, surnamed the *ungrateful*, flocked thither to punish the court for the favors conferred on them; so did the *Marquis de Montesquiou*, *Moreton de Chabillant*, and *Custines*, in hopes of revenge for having been slighted by that same court. Here also were seated many agents of Philip D'Orleans, such as his counsellor *La Clos*, his chancellor *La Touche*, *Sillery* the vilest of slaves, and *D'Aiguillon* the most hideous of mummers.¹³ Thither also had resorted the *Marquis de Lusignan* and the Prince of *Broglio*, whose youth was about to tarnish the glory of a name that deserved a better fate. The Physician *Guillettin* is the only brother that I can find in this Lodge who did not bear a title. He soon felt the effects of its power, when cited before the Parliament to answer for a seditious publication; he beheld thousands of adepts flocking in on all sides and threatening the magistrates, who might now plainly perceive that it was too late to contend against the federated bands of Masonry.

Such was the state of the Lodges, and of the most remarkable Brethren at Paris, when the Deputies of Illuminism arrived from Germany. Most authors make them alight at the Lodge of the *Contrat Social*, *Rue Coq-heron*. I fear that I have myself prepared my readers for a similar error, when speaking (in Vol. II, Chap. XIII of these Memoirs) of a Lodge established in that same street. I recollect, however, that I particularly mentioned them to be the Sophisters adherent to the Duke de la Rochefoucault; and none of those belonged to the *Contrat Social*. Though I may have mistaken the street in which they assembled, I was not in any error with respect to the persons of the Conspirators. The better to distinguish them, and that I might not confound them with another species of Masons, I made the strictest inquiries. Among other documents, I procured a very numerous list of the Brethren of the *Social Contract*.¹⁴ I therein found men who are well known for their attachment to royalty, and not a single one who had distinguished himself by his zeal for the revolution. I also found, that this error (so scandalizing to the *Social Contract*) originated in a work called *Les Masques Arrachés*, published under the feigned name of *Jacques le Sueur*, which is nothing but a scurrilous libel on persons of the highest respectability. This author transforms men whom I have known to be the most violent enemies to the revolution into the most zealous abettors of it. He also makes the Duke de la Rochefoucault, the Abbé Fauchet, Bailly, and *La Fayette*, members of the *Social Contract*, though they never belonged to it. He places it under the direction of the Grand Master Philip of Orleans, whereas it never filiated from any Lodge but that of Edinburgh. He paints the venerable Cardinal of Malines in the falsest colours, as will evidently appear to every person who is acquainted with his high reputation for virtue and wisdom. On the whole, I do not think that this supposed *Le Sueur* can be quoted as an authority in any thing, except in what he says on the reception

of the *Philalete Illuminees*; and even there he is most abominable in his personalities, and pretends to have been an actor in the scene when he is but the plagiary copyist of Mirabeau.

I have besides acquired a certainty, that Weishaupt's emissaries could not have applied to men more inimical to his systems, whether Masonic or Anarchical, than the members of the *Social Contract*, as by their orders the famous work written by Bonneville, Bode's great friend, was burnt in open Lodge. In short, I have in my possession the *original letter* (or, in Masonic language, the *planche tracée*) written by a man with whom I was acquainted, and on the formal deliberation of the *Social Contract* transmitted to several other lodges, to engage them to join in a federation for the support of Louis XVI against the jacobins. It is true, that the royalist brethren of this Lodge were the complete dupes of this projected federation, for they invited the Lodges to form an union for the maintaining of the King according to the constitution of 1789. Louis XVI, who really wished to keep the oath that had been forced from him, to be true to the constitution, was very pleased with the list of the federated Masons; but Mr. de La Porte, then minister, was of a different opinion. When he saw the *circular letter*, and the number of persons who had subscribed to it, he said, "It is impossible that these persons can be other than constitutionalist, or that they can ever become staunch royalists."—"Let us begin (rejoined the agents of the *Social Contract*) by maintaining the king in his present state, and we will afterwards find means of re-establishing the true Monarchy." This answer may serve as a vindication for the members of the *Social Contract*; but their good intentions did not make their delusion the less complete. In the first place, they *might* have seen, but they *did not* see, that the greater number of those who had signed the letter were men who wished to continue to enjoy their Equality and Liberty under a King reduced to the condition of a mere Doge to the sovereign and legislative people; and that La Fayette, Bailly, and many other revolutionists, would have signed this letter, without ceasing on that account to be jacobins and rebels. Neither did they reflect, that many of those constitutional brethren would have turned against the *Social Contract*, as soon as they perceived the plan for reinstating the Monarch in his ancient rights; nor that it was far more easy to entice these constitutionalists into the most outrageous democracy of the great club, than to bring them back to the principles of real monarchy. In short, they had overlooked the vast number of adepts of democracy who would infallibly denounce them as traitors to Equality and Liberty, which afterwards proved to be the case. It was to very little purpose that the abettors of this federation terminated their letter with the following words:—"This *table* is only for your chapter. Make discreet use of it. We have *two sacred interests* to manage, that of the French Monarchy and its King, and that of Masonry and its Members." The interest of Masonry carried the day; for, at the very time that the demi-adepts were subscribing the letter, the more profound adepts were from every quarter denouncing the federation to the great club, and the *Social Contract* was itself proscribed.

Certain of this fact, and observing that the brethren of the *Social Contract* positively declare, in the *table tracée* (which I have before me) *that all political and deliberating clubs should be suppressed*; being also assured, by several Masons, that it was from the Committee of the *Amis réunis* that the invitations were sent to go and deliberate with the German deputies, I find myself obliged to differ with those writers who declare the Emissaries of Illuminism to have alighted at the Social Contract, and who attribute to that Lodge the political committees established on their arrival. It may very possibly have happened, that some one of these committees may have taken its station in the same street; but certain it is, that such committee was not composed of members from the *Social Contract*. So likewise is it a mere fable that has been spread, with regard to the inscription supposed to have been written by Philip of Orleans on the door of this Lodge, *Hither each brings his ray of light*. Let it then be remembered, that it was to the Committee of the *Amis réunis* that Mirabeau had directed the illuminizing brethren from Germany.—Savalette and Bonneville had made this committee the central point of revolution and of the mysteries. There met in council, on the days appointed, not only the Parisian adepts, but those of all the provinces who were judged worthy of being admitted to the profound mysteries of the Sect. There were to be seen for the Elect of the Philaletes, the profound Rosicrucians and Knights Kadosch, the Elect of the *Rue Sourdrière*, of the *Nine Sisters*, of the *Lodge of Candour*, and of the most secret committees of the *Grand Orient*. This was the landing-place of the travelling brethren from Lyons, Avignon, and Bourdeaux. The emissaries from Germany could not find a central point better adapted to their new mysteries than this committee; and there it was that they unfolded all the importance of their mission. Weishaupt's code was ordered to lie on the table, and commissioners were named to examine it and make their report.

But here the gates of this secret senate are shut against us. I do not pretend to penetrate the dark recess, and describe the deliberations that took place on this occasion. Many brethren have informed me, that they remember the deputation, by they scarcely recollect *Amelius-Bode* and *Bayard-Busche* under any other denomination than that of the *German brethren*. They have seen these deputies received in different Lodges with all the etiquette due to visitors of high importance; but it was not on such occasions that a coalition was debated on, between the ancient mysteries of Masonry and those of the modern *Spartacus*. All that my memorials say on the subject is, that negotiations took place; that the deputies reported to their Areopage; that the negotiations lasted longer than was expected; and that it was at length decided, that the new mysteries should be introduced into the French Lodges, but under a Masonic form; and that they should all be illuminized, without even knowing the name of the Sect whose mysteries they were adopting. Only such parts of Weishaupt's code were to be selected as the circumstances would require to hasten the revolution. Had not the facts that immediately followed this negotiation transpired to point out its effects, we should still have been in the dark as to its great success; the news of which *Amelius* and *Bayard* carried back

to their illuminized brethren in Germany. But happily for history, facts have spoken; and it will be easy to see how far this famous embassy influenced the French Revolution.

At the time of their arrival Paris swarmed with impostors, all raising spirits or conjuring up the dead, in order to pick the pockets of the living; or magnetizing and throwing *into a crisis* certain *knowing dupes*, or knaves who well knew the parts they had to act. Others again would work cures on *healthy dupes*, to swindle away the money of those who were really ill. In a word, *Mesmer* presided there in all his glory. I make this observation, because the illuminizing deputies pretended that they had been attracted from Germany by the fame of *Mesmer's* science, which had spread throughout their country; it also serves to show, that their arrival could not have been later than the year 1787, as in the very next year *Mesmerism* and its *tubs* were entirely abandoned, or confined to a few adepts, the object of public ridicule, who resorted to the hotel of the Duchess of Bourbon. Such a pretext, therefore, at that period would have been as much ridiculed as were *Mesmer's* dupes. The *Notables*, the Parliament, Brienne, and Necker, at that time furnished the Parisians with more important matter for consideration.—Beside, my instructions, as well as many persons the best informed on the subject, even Masons at whose Lodges these German brethren attended as visitors, state their arrival to have taken place about the time of the convocation of the first assembly of the *Notables*, which opened on the 22d February 1787. And, in fact, it is from that very year that we may observe the code of Weishaupt influencing French Masonry.

In that year we see all the mysteries of the *Amis réunis*, and of the other Lodges that had adopted the pretended mysticity of the Martinists, disappear. The very name of *Philalete* seems to have been forgotten. New explanations are given to the Masonic secrets; a new degree is introduced into the Lodges; and the brethren of Paris hasten to transmit it to those in the provinces. The adepts flock to the new mysteries. I have now before me a memorial written by an adept, who about the end of 1787 received the code at his Lodge, though he lived at eighty leagues distance from Paris. According to the agreement made with the Deputies, all the forms of Masonry were preserved in this new degree; *the ribbon was yellow, the badge was a star, and its festivals were kept at the Equinox*; but the ground-work of its mysteries was a discourse entirely copied from that pronounced by the illuminizing Hierophant in the degree of Eopt. *The dawn of a great day begins to break upon us, when the secrets of Masonry, hitherto unknown, shall become the property of all free men.* In short, it contained all the *principles of Equality and Liberty, and of natural religion*, detailed in the degree of Eopt; and even the enthusiasm of style was preserved. The discourses pronounced by the *Knights of the Sun*, or *Knights Kadosch*, on similar occasions, were not to be compared to this. The very Mason who has given me this information, though he had been admitted to all the other degrees, was so disgusted with this, that he refused it; but the greater part of the brethren of his Lodge were so much electrified by it, that *they became the most zealous sticklers for the revolution.* Some have even held conspicuous places in it,

and one actually became minister. In this new degree, the reader must remark, the very name of Illuminee was not mentioned; it was merely a farther explanation of the origin and secrets of Masonry. The French Masons were now ripe for such an explanation; they were in a state similar to that described by Knigge when speaking of the Brethren who inhabited the protestant parts of Germany; they needed no long trials; they were illuminized with the same facility; the name signified little; they received the degree, and ran wild with the same enthusiasm.

It was difficult, however, as yet, to judge by the dispositions of the different Lodges what turn the revolution would take. The Masons in general wished for a change in the constitution; but the chosen of the Elect alone were initiated in all the disorganizing plans of their Equality and Liberty. Their mysteries, it is true, were unfolded in the higher degrees; but it must be also remembered, that terror had there much more influence than conviction. I was acquainted with Masons who had sworn *hatred to kings* on their reception to the degree of *Kadosch*; nevertheless I have seen them, regardless of that oath, become the staunch friends of Monarchy. That spirit, inherent to the French nation, got the better of the Masonic views; that was the spirit which was to be eradicated from the minds of the brethren; and all the sophistry and delusions of the illuminizing Hierophants were to be practised for that purpose. It was in his degree of *Epopt* that the modern *Spartacus* had condensed all his poisons by which he was to infuse into his adepts that frantic rage against kings, which he had himself imbibed. Such also was the intention and effect of the degree of the *Masonic Epopo*.

But Illuminism was not to be appeased by seeing the adepts of the antient Lodges sacrificing at its shrine. The Hierophant tells his disciples, that *they are to acquire strength by gaining over the multitude*. This is also the period (at the introduction of the new degree, and the return of the deputies to Germany) when the Lodges are multiplied beyond any former precedent, both in Paris and the provinces, and when the system for the reception of Masons is changed. However low Masonry may have stooped in quest of candidates, it had not as yet been seen recruiting in the suburbs among the lowest rabble; all at once we see the suburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau filled with Lodges composed of porters and labourers, now decorated with the levelling badges of Masonry. In the country-towns and villages, Lodges are opened for assembling the workmen and peasantry, in hopes of heating their imaginations with the sophisticated ideas of Equality and Liberty and the Rights of Man. At that same period does Philip of Orleans introduce to the Masonic mysteries those French Guards, whom he destined to the subsequent attack of the Bastille and the storming of the palace of his royal master and kinsman. Let the officers of those legions be questioned why they abandoned the Lodges; and they will tell you, it was because they did not choose to be confounded with their common soldiers in this Masonic Equality.

At that same period is Paris over-run with an immense number of clubs and literary societies, on the plan of the Germanic union, and such as it had

already established on the banks of the Rhine. They are no longer Lodges, but Clubs, *regulating committees*, and *political committees*. All these clubs deliberate. Their resolutions, as well as those of the committee of the *Amis des Noirs*, are all transmitted to the committee of correspondence of the *Grand Orient*, and thence are forwarded to the Venerables in the provinces. This is no more than that concatenation of revolt, invented by Weishaupt to revolutionize nations from the north to the south, and from the east to the west, at one and the same hour. The chief committee of these *regulating committees* is no other than the French *Areopage*. In place of *Spartacus*-Weishaupt, *Philo-Knigge*, *Marius-Hertel*, &c. we find, wielding the firebrands of revolution in the capital of France, a *Philip of Orleans*, a *Mirabeau*, a *Syeyes*, a *Savalette de Lange*, a *Condorcet*, &c.

Scarcely is the construction of this chain of rebellion made known to them, before they set about forming it throughout the state. Instructions are sent to the very extremities of the kingdom; all the Venerables are ordered to *acknowledge the reception of them, and to subjoin to their answer the oath of faithfully and punctually executing all commands they may receive through the same channel*. Those who might hesitate at such an oath are menaced with all the *poignards* and *aqua tophana* that await traitors to the Sect.¹⁵

Those Masters of Lodges who through fear or disgust were unwilling to engage in so awful an undertaking, had no other resource left but to abandon the Lodge and the mallet, under whatever pretence their fears could suggest. They were replaced by more zealous brethren,¹⁶ and the orders continued to be transmitted until the meeting of the States-general. The day of general insurrection is fixed for the 14th of July, 1789. At the same hour, and in all parts of France, the cries of Equality and Liberty resound from the Lodges. Paris bristles up in a phalanx of pikes, hatchets, and bayonets; couriers are sent into the provinces, and they return with the news of a similar insurrection; towns, villages, nay the very fields and cots, resound with the cries of Equality and Liberty, and are thus in union with the brethren of the capital. On this fatal day *the Lodges are dissolved*. The grand adepts are now seated in the town-houses in revolutionary committees. As they predominated in the Electoral Assemblies, so are they now predominant in the assembly styling itself National. Their cut-throat bands have been trying their strength, and the barriers of Paris are beaten to the ground; the country-houses of the nobility are in flames; the lantern posts are put in requisition; and heads are carried in savage triumph through the streets of Paris. The Monarch is attacked in his palace, and his faithful guards butchered; prodigies of valour alone could save the life of his royal consort; and the King himself is dragged a prisoner to his capital. Good God! whither am I proceeding?—all Europe is acquainted with the dreadful tale. Let us return then to the hand that organizes this horrid concatenation of villany.

The Lodges had thus been transformed into a vast corresponding society; and, through the means of that correspondence, France had in a single day been overwhelmed by a million of demoniacs, who with horrid yell

proclaimed their Equality and Liberty, while they were committing the most abominable outrages. And who were the men that presided over these primitive disasters? History immediately points to a new den of conspirators, holding their meetings at Versailles, under the title of the *Breton Club*. And who are the members of it? Mirabeau, Syeyes, Barnave, Chapellier, the Marquis de la Coste, Glezen, Bouche, Petion; in short, an aggregate of the most profound adepts, both of the capital and of the provinces, who supply the place of the central committee, and by means of the established correspondence fix the time and manner of the insurrection. They are, however, but at the commencement of that long career of crime and iniquity which they are to run; they must concert new means, and gain over hands and numbers to accomplish the views which they were prosecuting. The better to direct this horrid course, they impatiently wait the day when they may sally forth from their dark recesses; and it is to the temple of the living God, to the church of religious men called Jacobins, that Mirabeau convokes the Parisian adepts; it is there that he establishes himself with the very men who composed the Breton Club. The whole conspiring crew flock around him. From that instant this temple is converted into a den of conspirators, and is only known by the name of Club. The name of those antient religious who heretofore made it resound with the praises of the living God, is given to this horde of blasphemers, the re-union of every class of conspirators. Soon does all Europe designate by the name of *Jacobin* the authors and abettors of the French Revolution. The curse once pronounced on this name, it is but just and proper that the appellation of *JACOBIN* alone should carry with it the idea of a general coalition of the *Sophisters of Impiety* conspiring against their God and Christianity; of the *Sophisters of Rebellion* conspiring against their God and their King; and of the *Sophisters of Impiety and Anarchy* conspiring against their God, their King, and all civil society whatever.

Let us now enter this den of rebellion, which may be looked upon as the prototype of those numerous associations which are soon spread under the same name throughout the provinces. It is thither, it is to that monstrous union of every species of conspiring Sect, that the talk which I undertook at the outset of these Memoirs leads both me and my readers; to follow those different conspiring Sects from their origin to their terrible coalition in this den of conspirators under the name of *Jacobins*. Darkness may have hitherto encompassed the proceedings of those different Sects; and some readers may have been blind to conviction, and disbelieved the evidence I have adduced to prove that the commencement of this fatal union is to be dated from the intrusion of the Sophisters into the Masonic Lodges, and the consummation of it from the coalition of the latter with the deputies of Illuminism. But broad daylight will now betray their actions; behold the Sophisters, the Rebels, the Adepts of every class assembled, all bound by the same oath, whether Rosicrucians, Knights Kadosch, or disciples of Voltaire and Jean Jacques, whether Knights-Templars, Epopts of Illuminism, or disciples of Swedenborg

and St. Martin; here, I say, all are holding council and concerting ruin, devastation, and all that measureless chain of revolutionary crimes.

That impious man, who had first sworn to crush God and his Gospel, was no more; but his disciples were still in life and vigour. We have seen them springing up from their academic meetings, retailing their blasphemies in those petty assemblies pretending to the *bel esprit*, under the auspices of the female adepts, such as the Dutchess D'Anville, the Marquise du Deffant, or the Geofrins, Espinaces, Neckers, and Staels. They then framed their conspiracies at the Hotel D'Holbach. To support the illusions of their Sophistry by the strength of Legions, they obtrude themselves on the Masonic Lodges; but now they have abandoned their pettifogging female adepts, their academies; nay, the Hotel D'Holbach and the Lodges themselves are deserted; the great revolutionary gulph has swallowed them up. Behold them muffled up in the red cap; the cloak of Philosophy has been cast aside; behold them all, Condorcet, Brissot, Bailly, Garat, Ceruty, Mercier, Rabaud, Cara, Gorsas, Dupui, Dupont, Lalande, Atheists, Deists, Encyclopedists, Economists, in short, self-created Philosophers of every species and every kind. Here they appear foremost in the ranks of *rebellion*, as they formerly did in those of *impiety*. Behold them intermixed with the dregs of the Brigands and of the Lodges, as well as with the leaders of the bands and the heroes of the mysteries; with the banditti of Philip of Orleans, as well as with his worthy advocate *Chabroud*, or his rival *La Fayette*. Behold them in council with the traitors of aristocracy; as well as with the apostates of the clergy; with the Duke of Chartres, the Marquis de Montesquiou, and de la Salle, the Counts Pardieu, de Latouche, Charles and Theodore Lameth, Victor Broglio, Alexander Beauharnois, St. Fargeau, as well as with Syeyes, Perigord D'Autun, Noel, Chabot, Dom Gerles, Fauchet, and all the *intruding* tribe.

It is not by accident that we see these ancient conspirators, whether literary or masonic, coalescing with the conspiring brethren of the Provinces, such as Barrere, Mendouze, Bonnacarrere, and Collot d'Herbois; it is not by chance that the Jacobin clubs both in Paris and the Provinces become the general receptacle for Rosicrucians, Knights Templars, Knights of the Sun, and Knights Kadosch; or of those in particular who, under the name of *Philaletes*, were enthusiastically wedded to the mysteries of Swedenborg, whether at Paris, Lyons, Avignon, Bourdeaux, or Grenoble. The club having once sounded the trump of rebellion, where else should we go to search for those zealous Martinists, Savalette de Lange, Milanois, Willermoz, and men of their stamp? They had improved on the systems of their forerunners the Rosicrucians; they will, now that they have entered the great club, outstrip them with gigantic strides. They had coalesced with the illuminizing *Spartacus*; and in unison with his adepts they are now become the most ardent Jacobins.¹⁷

But to whatever cause people may choose to ascribe this general reunion of so many conspirators and of their systems, the fact certainly cannot be controverted. It had been first set on foot on the arrival of Bode; it was completed at the Club of the Jacobins. The list is public, and it contains the

names of all the profound adepts who had hitherto been dispersed among the Lodges. But let the reader never forget that it is not a mere local union, or an identity of persons; it is an identity of principles, of method, of oaths, and of means; it is the general concert of these conspirators that proves the coalition.

If we turn to the discourses delivered in the club (for the brethren now have their journals and their public archives) we shall find, that Voltaire and Rousseau are their oracles, just as they were of the Sophisters when in their Literary Societies. In that club do they repeat all the blasphemous sophistry against Christianity which they had formerly uttered at the Hotel D'Holbach; the same enthusiastic declamations in favor of *Equality* and *Liberty*, the grand secret of those Sects that had hidden themselves in the occult Lodges. These adepts found themselves perfectly at home within this new den of conspirators; the *costume* and the symbols had changed, it is true; but in substituting the red, or rather the bloody, cap of liberty for the apron and level, they only adopted a more typical emblem of their antique mysteries. The President is now the Venerable; the brethren ask leave to speak, and he grants or refuses it with all the parade of Masonry. When deliberating, the votes are taken just as in the occult Lodges. The laws of the Freemasons for the admission or expulsion of brethren are the same. As in the *Grand Orient*, or at the *Amis réunis*, and in the Lodges in general, no candidate is received unless he be presented by *two sponsors*, who answer for his conduct and obedience; just so is it in the club. Here the obedience sworn is precisely the same as that sworn in the occult mysteries of Masonry. To be received a Jacobin, as to become a Rosicrucian or an Illuminee, the candidate is obliged to swear implicit obedience to the decisions of the brethren; and also to observe and cause to be observed all decrees passed by the National Assembly *in consequence of the decisions of the club*. He then binds himself to denounce to the club any man who shall to his knowledge counteract the decrees proposed by the club; and that he will make no exception in favor of *his most intimate friends, or his father, mother, or of any part of his family*. In short he will, in common with the disciples of Illuminism, swear to execute or cause to be executed all orders emanating from the privy council of the club, *though they should be repugnant to his sentiments and conscience*;¹⁸ for the Jacobin club, like the *Grand Orient*, has its committees and privy counsellors. The brethren have not abandoned their Lodges, as renouncing all their means of hastening, fomenting, and propagating, revolutions. They have established here, just as at the *Grand Orient*, committees for *the reports*, for the *finances*, for the *correspondence*, and lastly, the grand committee of all, the *secret committee*; and nearly all the members of these different committees are the very persons whom we have seen flocking from the Lodges to the great club.¹⁹

In this club of Jacobins too is to be found, in common with the Occult Lodges of illuminised Masonry, the laws of exclusion and proscription. They have the *black list* and the *red list*, and this is a *list of blood*. The name of a rejected brother is never inscribed on it without effect. Paris has more than

once seen such lists posted up; it has also seen those devoted victims perish, or, at best, save themselves by flight.²⁰

Thus, in this den of conspirators do we find every thing in perfect unison with the Occult Lodges, to which it only succeeds. Adepts, object, principles, all are the same; whether we turn our eyes toward the adepts of impiety, of rebellion, or of anarchy, they are now but one conspiring Sect, under the disastrous name of Jacobin. We have hitherto denominated some by the name of *Sophisters*, others by that of *Occult Masons*, and lastly, we have described those men styled *Illuminees*. Their very names will now disappear; they will in future all be fully described by the name of *Jacobin*.

It has been an arduous task to collect the proofs of this monstrous association. When we look back to that day when Voltaire swore to crush the supposed *wretch* in support of his Equality and Liberty; to that day when Montesquieu dogmatically asserted, that all nations subject to a Monarch, and to laws that they had not made, were slaves; to that day, in short, when Rousseau points out as a public malefactor against mankind the man who had first enclosed a field and was presumptuous enough to declare that it was his property; from those days, I say, until the fatal period when the disciples of Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, in the name of that same Equality and Liberty, flock to the club of the Jacobins, there to repeat their sophisms against Christ and his religion, to prosecute their masonic plots against kings, to propagate the blasphemies of the modern *Spartacus* against their God, their king, their country, and all social order; what systems have we not been obliged to investigate, what artifices to unfold, and into what dark and loathsome recesses have we not been obliged to penetrate, in order to trace their progress! At length we have traced them to their general convention of iniquity and rebellion. History will have no further need of my researches to demonstrate all the crimes and disasters of the French revolution that have issued from this haunt of conspirators. The historian needs only turn to the public records, to their own journals, and he will see what crimes of the French Revolution are to be attributed to them. I might, therefore, look upon my task as accomplished.

There is, however, a certain order to be observed in the very growth and progress of these scourges. In this association appears a monstrous wisdom, that directs the course of the crimes that are successively committed and even at appropriate moments. This wisdom has taught them how to make their least criminal accomplices prepare the way for the blackest deeds; it has taught them how to discard or destroy those agents who, from disgust or any other cause, cease to be their instruments and only become obstacles. Thus, in the very club of the Jacobins, in the centre of iniquity, there exists a progression of wickedness. Each Sect has retained its ultimate object, each conspirator his passions and his private views, just as in the Occult Lodges; yet they are all leagued in one common object, in one common measure, to overthrow the existing government, and erect their Equality and Liberty on the new order of things. But opinions will clash as to the choice of this new order. All detest

and hate the God of the Gospel; but some will have a God according to their Philosophism, while the Philosophism of others reject all ideas of a God. La Fayette will have a Doge for a king, subject to the laws and will of a sovereign people. Philip of Orleans will have no king, unless it be himself. Brissot will neither submit to Philip as king, nor assent to La Fayette's Doge; he wishes to exercise the magistracy of his own democracy. Mirabeau will be content with any plan, provided he be the prime minister. Dietrich, Condorcet, Babœuf, and the higher adepts of *Spartacus*, will assent to nothing but the *man-king* of Illuminism, *every where his own master*. Crimes then will be graduated by the mysteries. The grand adepts will be seen to make the mere novices act. Private passions will sometimes clog their progress; I shall, therefore, attempt to point out in what order the French Revolution has brought these mysteries into action, and apply its successive progress to the different Sects that had so profoundly meditated and conceived it.

1. Welt und menschen Kenntniss, P. 130.
2. See the Discourse of a Master of a Lodge on the ultimate fate of Masonry; Appendix to this Discourse—Important admonition by Hoffman, Vol. II. Sect. vii. &c. &c.
3. It is to this same Mauvillon that the German writers attribute the greater part of those two works published by Mirabeau, under the titles of *The Prussian Monarchy*, and *An Essay on the Illuminees*. Hence the high encomiums passed on Weishaupt in the former (Vol. V. Book vii), and all the cunning artifice that is observable in the latter, which was written with no other view than to mislead the public, by professing to betray the secrets of the Sect, without, in truth, saying a single word that could expose its views; and by leading astray the reader's attention to far different objects. This device made the French believe that they were thoroughly acquainted with Illuminism, though they were so perfectly ignorant on the subject as to have confounded Weishaupt's Illuminees with the Swedenborgians. The artifice also served as a cloak under which Mirabeau introduced Illuminism into France, at the time when he pretended to write against it. The very appellation of *Philalete* which he gave to his adepts was a trick, as it denoted the Theosophical Illuminees, quite another species.
4. Original Writings and Philo's Berichte, 6.
5. See the Alphabetical Statement of the Correspondence of the Lodges of the G. O. of France.
6. Ibid. Art. Foreign States.
7. I was informed by one of the Brethren who for a long time was the carrier of these dispatches, that, after some time, wishing to become a Member of the Committee, he was induced to get himself initiated in these degrees; but that he forbore doing it, because *an engagement for life was required, and also an annual contribution of six hundred Livres (25l.)* He also informed me, that each Brother paid a similar contribution, and that the whole management of these Funds was left to the Brother Savalette, who never gave in any accounts. This was a Fund to be added to the many means of corruption already in the possession of the adepts of the Occult Lodges. Who can say, how far these resources were extended in the hands of a man who had the care of

the *Tresor Royal*? The Conspirators very well knew how to chuse both their men and their places.

8. I could have named this man, as he is mentioned in my manuscript Memoirs as a *Philalete Illuminee* very famous in Prussia. But the person whom the reader will observe so indignant at these mysteries is at present in France; prudence, therefore, on his account, forbids me to mention names.
9. Nothing can equal the profligacy of morals that raged among these inhabitants of Ermenonville. Every woman admitted to the mysteries became common to the Brotherhood. That which *St. Germain* had chosen for himself was called the Virgin; she alone had the privilege of not being delivered over to chance, or to the commands of these true Adamites, unless *St. Germain* thought proper to confer the title of Virgin on some other woman. This vile impostor, more adroit than Cagliostro, had actually persuaded his adepts that he was in possession of an *Elixir of Immortality*; that he had gone through several changes by means of the metempsychosis; that he had already died three times, but that he would die no more; that since his last change he had lived fifteen hundred years:—And there were dupes who, too wise to credit the eternal truths taught by a God-made-man, firmly believed in this metempsychosis and in the fifteen hundred years of their God *St. Germain*!! Neither did they know that that period of time was no more than an allusion to the Masonic degrees. According to the Masonic action, an Apprentice is three years old, a Fellowcraft five, and a Master seven. This age goes on in such an increasing ration in certain degrees, that a Scotch Knight is said to be *five hundred years old*. When a Mason therefore comes and says, I am so many years old, it is no more than saying I am of such a degree. (*See Geschichte der unbekanten on the Scotch Degrees*).
10. See the Red Lodge unveiled, Page 11, and the history of the assassination of Gustavus III, King of Sweden, Sect. 4.
11. I have been informed of all these circumstances by a man who was for a long time connected with the Postmaster Raymond, but who resisted all his arts of seduction. This same person, on whom I can perfectly rely, also informed me, that he had seen the minutes of the Lodge, which were regularly printed by *Clouzier* in the *Rue de Sorbonne*; but that they were so overloaded with *signs* and *hieroglyphics*, that it was impossible for any but the adepts to read them.
12. See the account given of their works in Vol. II. of these Memoirs.
13. All Paris was acquainted with his accoutrements and remembers the hideous figure that he cut on the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, in the midst of the Poissards at Versailles.
14. I should have given this list, but that I could not suppose that so many Dukes, Marquisses, and Barons, would like to see their names made public. Besides, I am not writing the history of the dupes, but of the conspiring brethren.—I think it, however, proper to observe, that when the federation of which I am about to speak was undertaken, they (by the advice of the queen) admitted several members of a less aristocratic turn, lest their Lodge should be suspected of aristocracy.
15. See Vol. II. of these Memoirs, Chap. XIII.
16. These letters and menaces were transmitted during the sitting of the States of Brittany, that is to say, about June or July, 1788; at least it was at that time that a member of those States, a Mason and a Knight Kadosch, received his.—The new degree had been received at his Lodge about six months before.

17. See a List of the principal Jacobins in a work entitled "*Of the Causes and Effects of Jacobinism.*"

It is an observation that did not escape the notice of the German writers, and which I repeatedly find in the memorials sent to me, that the greatest visionaries of the Rosicrucian Masons and of the Philaletes are since become the most zealous apostles of Weishaupt's Illuminism and of his Revolution. The Germans particularly mark out one *Hülmer*, a famous Martinist of Prussia, and a *George Föster*, who in his great zeal for the mysteries of Swedenborg would pass fifteen days in fasting and prayer to obtain the vision of a spirit, or to discover the *Philosopher's Stone*. Since that time, however, they have both turned out to be most outrageous Jacobins.—In France many examples of this kind may be adduced: *Prunelle de Lierre*, for instance; a man heretofore of most amiable character, and a very good naturalist. He first became a recluse Martinist, and soon after as outrageous a Jacobin as *Föster*.—As for *Perisse*, the bookseller, he acted the same part at Lyons for the correspondence of the Martinists, as *Savalette de Lange* did at Paris; but he did not take the same precautions. One might see him going to the Lodge followed by his port-folio, which a servant could scarcely carry. Weishaupt's code gained admittance to this portfolio; the revolution took place; and *Perisse*, together with his co-adept *Milanois*, became as outrageous Jacobins as the rest.—What is there that cannot be said of the Martinists of Avignon? Was there ever such atrocious ferocity shown as by the ringleaders of this Lodge? All this tends to confirm the position, that between the adepts of Swedenborg, and the adepts of Weishaupt, there was but a slight shade of separation. The supposed theosophy of the one differed but little from the atheism of the other. Weishaupt goes more directly to the point; but the annihilation of all religion is the real object of both their mysteries. It is even worthy of remark, that the modern *Spartacus* was on the eve of grounding all his mysteries on that very Theosophy where *fire is the principle*, and on the theology of the Persians, as did the Philaletes and Martinists.—(See *Knights of the Phoenix, Original Writings, Vol. I. Let. 46.*)

18. See Memoirs of the club of the Jacobins.
 19. See the list of the committees in *The Causes and Effects of the Revolution*—Montjoie, on the *Conspiracy of Orleans*. Book XIII.
 20. *Ibid.*, and *Brissot to his Constituents*, when expelled from the Jacobins.

CHAP. XII.

Application of the three Conspiracies to the French Revolution.

WHILE I have been unfolding the object and means of so many insidious plots, my reader has, no doubt, made frequent applications to facts that have taken place under his own eyes. He will have said to himself, what can be this long chain of crime, destruction, and horror, with which the French Revolution has astonished all Europe, but the consequence of the principles, and plans of these conspiring Sects! *In darkness they were conceived, but in broad day are they executed.* Such may be the succinct history of the Revolution, now that these plots have been laid open. It is so evidently demonstrated, that it would be a useless labour to descend to details; we will also pass over in our narrative those bloody scenes which might rather serve to tear open wounds scarcely closed, than convince my reader. I shall, therefore, consider the French Revolution in its preliminary steps, and in its successive attempts against Religion, against Monarchy, and against Society in general. But a cursory view of these attempts will suffice for the most complete demonstration.

Let us revert for a moment to that period when the conspirators of every class were still lurking in their hiding-places. The disciples of Montesquieu and Jean Jaques had so early as 1771 declared that men could only regain their primitive rights of *Equality* and *Liberty*, and the people their imprescriptible right of *legislative sovereignty*, by means of a general assembly of national deputies. At that time also the sophisticated adepts had pronounced, that the grand obstacle to these pretended rights was to be found in the distinctions of the three estates, the Clergy, the Nobility, and the third Estate.¹ To obtain, therefore, the convocation of the States General, and to annihilate the distinction of the three Estates, must necessarily have been and really were the first steps of the Revolution.

The deficit that Necker had left in the public treasury, the depredations and disorders of an age destitute of morals (because these Sophisters had transformed it into an age of impiety) had reduced a Monarch who shone forth unblemished in the midst of corruption, to summon the *Notables* of his kingdom, that they might consult for the happiness of his people, which seemed to be his only care. The tender wish that he has shown is immediately

seized on by the conspirators, and serves as a pretext for them to hasten the convocation of that very assembly where all their horrid plots are to be consummated. Whatever might have been the wisdom of the *Notables*, their plans are rejected beforehand. Philip of Orleans and his political committees are likewise eager for the convocation of the States General. Even the tribunes of the nation will rise in judgment against, and discuss the rights of their Sovereign. Foremost among the conspirators, Philip of Orleans is also foremost in action. For the first time does he pretend to be zealous in the public cause; and the first act of his zeal is to enter a protest against the dispositions made by Lewis XVI to provide for the wants of the state.² In these intrigues against his Sovereign, he combined with the different magistrates who were then noted for their factious behaviour, such as DESPREMENIL, at that time infatuated with the visions of the Martinists and revolutionary principles; MONSABERT and SABATIER de CABRES, the most ardent enemies of the Court; and FRETEAU, who in the first assembly was to become the worthy associate of the Constitutionalist CAMUS. Philip so completely misleads this first Parliament of the kingdom, that they at length give the example of a lawful and formal demand for the convocation of the States General. Lewis XVI, seeing the general ferment, hesitates; Philip instigates the people; pays brigands; and mobs are assembled in Paris. The King at length thinks proper to grant the convocation of the States General.—That Sect which was headed by Orleans now only wants a Minister who shall direct the convocation according to the views of their conspiracy; and they turn their eyes on that very man who had hollowed out the abyss, that Necker, whose perfidious policy had been the ruin of the national treasury. He was the man of the ambitious courtiers, who led him toward the throne that they themselves might be drawn nearer to it; the man supported by the Princes de Beauveau and de Poix, by the Mareschal Castries, by the Duc D'Ayen, by Messrs. Besenval and Guibert; the man of the conspiring courtiers, such as La Fayette and the Lameths, the man of the Sophisters of Impiety, whose plots had been contrived in his own house and at the hotel D'Holbach; the man, in short, whose bust was to be carried in bloody and revolutionary triumph by the side of that of his worthy co-operator Philip of Orleans.

Lewis XVI might have known this perfidious minister; the whole plan of the conspiracy contrived by Necker and his adepts of Philosophism had been laid before the King; but, alas! he could not be made to believe that such wickedness and hypocrisy was to be found in man. The day came, however, when he sorrowfully exclaimed, *Why did I not believe it? Eleven years ago was every thing foretold that now befalls me.* It was to Necker that he alluded; for during his first ministry, was that man and the plots contrived in his house and at the hotel D'Holbach, formally denounced in a memorial presented to Mr. de Maurepas and to Lewis XVI. But since that time, the Conspirators had sounded all their trumpets to his fame, and celebrated the supposed virtues and talents of the Genevese traitor. Overpowered by such intrigue, the King was misled to think that this man would prove the Saviour of the state, and he

entrusted him with the convocation of the States General. He was precisely the man to throw the whole of these states into the hands of the conspirators.³ He knew that their hopes were in the multitude, and that the distinction of, and voting by estates, would prove an obstacle to their views against the sovereign. He farther saw, that the spirit of sedition predominated in the third estate, that they were becoming the revolutionary organs of the conspirators; and, to ensure the majority of votes to them, he doubled the number of the deputies to be sent by the third estate. Confident in their numbers, they immediately declare themselves, though alone, to constitute the *National Assembly*. In vain did the clergy and the nobility insist on that right (of far more consequence to the state than to themselves) of deliberating separately, and thus counterpoising the deliberations that might have been too hastily entered upon or guided by passion, interest, or the factious pretensions of party men. In vain did the clergy and nobility sacrifice all exclusive privileges or pecuniary advantages in taxation which they enjoyed, in hopes of preserving their rights in deliberation; for the privilege that Necker⁴ and the other conspirators aimed at, was that power of counteracting all resolutions detrimental to religion or monarchy. It was in vain that Lewis XVI, with the tenderness rather of a father than of a king, made those sacrifices (which of themselves might be called a revolution, so much did they curtail his royal prerogative) in his Declaration of the 23d of June. But this was not the species of revolution sought by the conspirators. The sophisters had determined, that, to make their Equality and Liberty triumph, it was necessary to deliberate by *persons* and not by *estates*; that the Nobility and Clergy should be confounded among the multitude; and that the majority, when deliberating by estates, should prove a minority, when united with the great numbers of the third estate. Lewis XVI orders, that in virtue of the antient constitution of the kingdom, the antient form of deliberating by estates should be preserved; but his orders are vain; the conspirators protest against them; their president, BAILLY, calls them to a tennis-court, and there they swear to impose a constitution on France congenial to their views. They immediately set their brigands in motion; the venerable Archbishop of Paris is nearly stoned to death; the life of the Monarch is threatened; the fatal union of the three estates at length takes place, which subjects the two first estates to the will of the multitude; for the conspirators were certain of the support of all those apostates and dastards who by their intrigues had been returned among the deputies of the Nobility and Clergy, because Necker had doubled the number of the deputies of the third estate, to ensure the majority of the votes in favour of the decrees which the party were to propose. He had organized the States general according to the views and wishes of the sophisters; he may, it is true, whimper and weep over the disasters and crimes of the Revolution; but the hand of time shall engrave on his tomb, *that he was the grand agent of them all*.

Having no farther opposition to fear, and certain of passing whatever decrees they chose, these conspirators proceed to declare themselves a *National Assembly*. They arrogate to themselves the right of making and of pronouncing

the law. The secrets of the Lodges constitute the basis of the Revolution under the title of *the Rights of Man*. The first article declares *man to be equal and free*; that *the principle of all sovereignty essentially resides in the people*; and that *law is nothing more than the expression of the general will*. Such had been for nearly half a century the doctrines of Argenson, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire. These principles of pride and revolt had long since been the groundwork of the mysteries of every class of Sophisters, Occult Mason, or Illuminee; and now they decorate the title-page of the revolutionary code.

This equal, free, sovereign, and legislative people, may will that their religion should be preserved in all its integrity; and that its monarch should be entrusted with the necessary power to crush sedition and rebellion. Veneration for the altar and affection for their prince still glowed in the heart of the French. But the conspirators wanted an armed force, drawn from the body of that same people, docile, and subservient to the views of the Sect, and that would oppose the will of the people whenever it did not coincide with theirs. This force was entirely to overpower the army of the sovereign. Every thing had been foreseen; for the sophisters had long since said, "Oh that we could but once get rid of these foreign military hirelings! An army of natives might be gained to the side of Liberty, at least a part of them; but the foreign troops are kept on foot for this very reason."⁵ Their army of natives is immediately formed, and it is again from the dark recesses of Masonry that the signal is given. That same Savalette de Lange who presided over the secret committee of the *Amis réunis*, and over the correspondence, appeared before the Municipality of Paris, and spoke to the following effect. "*Gentlemen, I am a Corporal*. Here are Citizens to whom I have taught the use of arms, that they might defend the country. I did not create myself a major or a general, *we are all equal*, I am simply a Corporal; but I also gave the example; command that every citizen should follow it.—Let the nation take arms, and Liberty will be invincible." Savalette, in pronouncing this discourse, presented seven or eight brigands accoutred as soldiers. The sight of these few men, and the repeated cries of *Let us save the nation!* excited enthusiasm; an immense mob surrounded the town-hall, and Savalette's motion was instantaneously decreed. The very next day the Parisian army is set on foot, and millions are formed into *Native Battalions* throughout the empire.⁶ They are the sworn agents of the conspirators; and it is now time that the unfortunate Lewis XVI should feel their power. He had driven from his person the treacherous Necker; but the Sect still wanted his services, and it forces the Monarch to recal him. The King hesitates at sanctioning the Rights of Man, and the force of the people is immediately put in action.

In support of these *rights*, all the conspirators combine; and it is agreed, that immediately on his return, Necker shall starve the people into rebellion; that the brethren shall collect all the harpies of the suburbs to go and demand bread of Lewis XVI, that Bailly and his assessors, seated at the Municipality, shall order the *legions of natives* to follow and support them; that La Fayette at the head of these legions should march to Versailles, that he should surround

Lewis XVI with these bands under pretence of watching for his safety, *and then retire to sleep*. Mirabeau, Petion, and Chapellier, Montesquieu and Duport, Charles Lameth and Laclos, Sillery and D'Aiguillon, will then inform the Assembly that *victims must be thrown to the people*,⁷ and they avail themselves of the darkness of the night to inflame the populace and excite the soldiery. Their hearts were already as hideous as the furies; they now assume their *costume*, to lead their harpies on to the commission of crime.⁸ D'Orleans will ply his monsters with the beverage of rage and frenzy, and will point out the Queen as the first victim to be immolated. Syeyes, Gregoire, and a multitude of other conspirators, stand spectators of the contest; but, should the monarch fall in the affray, they will tender the crown to Orleans, as they may be certain of parcelling out its prerogative according to their Equality and Liberty. Necker absconds, but his *virtuous spouse*, decorated with her nosegays, and accompanied by her inseparable companion the Mareschale de Beauveau, will appear in the galleries of Versailles, in the midst of the carnage, and virtuously exclaim, *Let the good people act, there is no danger*, and in fact she had none to fear; she had already written to her brother Germani, "*Patience; every thing will go well; we can neither speak nor write.*"⁹

The night from the 5th to the 6th of October reveals the secrets which this worthy confidant dared not write. History needs not our labours to paint the horrors of that awful night; they are described in the juridical depositions taken by the magistrates at the Chatelet. Orleans lost courage at the sight of a few faithful Life-guards, the only adherents of the King that La Fayette had permitted to remain near his person; and never was a more heroic phalanx formed than by these brave men round their royal master and his consort. Though their courage was appalled by the orders of their sovereign, they were still prodigal of their own blood; they resisted a forest of pikes,¹⁰ and Orleans could not consummate his premediated crime. Day-light arrives to expose the horrors of this night; the brigands, his instruments, are seen to blush, and the National Guards at length reflect that they are Frenchmen. They emit no other wish than to see Lewis XVI living in the midst of them at Paris in the palace of his forefathers. The unfortunate monarch knows not what men had profited of the natural effusions of loyalty of his people to make them emit this wish. He thought that he was entrusting himself to the affections of his people, when he was only obeying the dictates of the conspirators. He knows not that it is the last shift of the conspirators, that the crimes of this horrid night might not be entirely fruitless. The great difficulty they had found in making the monarch sanction the *rights of man* make them perceive that they would frequently stand in need of the same brigands to force his acquiescence to those future decrees which were to be grounded on them. All the decrees that were in succession to annihilate religion and monarchy were to be enforced by an insurrection, and the pikes and lantern-posts were to be in perpetual requisition, to constrain the votes, to intimidate the monarch, and discard all reclamation. In future a captive in Paris, Lewis XVI will be perpetually menaced by the brigands issuing from the suburbs or from the quarries, and

paid by Necker and Orleans. La Fayette will proclaim, that *insurrection is a most sacred duty*, and insurrection will become the standing order of the day; Mirabeau, Barnave, Chapellier, will point out the object and fix the hours orders will be sent from their antichambers to the Jacobins and the suburbs, and daily at the hour fixed will the King, the Clergy, the Nobility, and all who may oppose the decrees in debate, find themselves surrounded by a mob that will hoot or act exactly according to the instructions given by the conspirators.¹¹

Though they reaped no farther benefit from all the horrid deeds of the fifth and sixth of October, yet the conspirators knew but too well how to appreciate their successes. Madame Necker writes again to her brother Germani: "We are content; every thing went on well. The aristocracy would have had the uppermost, and we were obliged to make use of the rabble."¹² Here terminate what may be called the preliminaries of the revolution. Necker had moulded the National Assembly according to the views of the Sect, and had established it in the town that was judged most proper for enabling him to work the premeditated revolution. We next proceed to the plan traced by the Sophisters for *crushing* the pretended *wretch*; and here begins the war waged against the God of Christianity.

To destroy religious orders; to deprive the ministers of the church of their subsistence under pretence of *the wants of the state*; *silently to sap the edifice*, then to employ *superior force*, and at length to call in the *Hercules* and the *Bellerophons*; such (as it has been shown) were the means combined by the Sophisters to overturn and annihilate the altars of Christianity. To substitute the worship of the *great architect* of the universe to that of Christ; the *light* of the lodges to the doctrines of the gospel; the god of their pretended *reason* to the god of revelation; such were the most moderate of the mysteries of the occult Lodges of Masonry. To invent and substitute new religions in place of Christianity, and to impose them on the people till every religious principle could be eradicated; in the name of Equality and Liberty to render themselves *powerful* and *formidable*; then to *tie the hands*, *subjugate*, and *smother in the germ*, every thing that could counteract the empire of impiety and atheism; such were the views and plots of the *Epopt*, *Regent*, and *Magus* of Illuminism. This code and their oaths have been laid open to our readers; and of all these horrid plots what particle has the revolution left incomplete?

Religious vows were immediately suspended and soon abolished; the clergy were pillaged of their property, and all the possessions of the church were converted into a fund for the security of the assignats; the sacred vessels were stolen and prophaned; the churches were not only robbed of their gold and silver, but the very brass and metal of the bells were carried away.¹³ All this however is but a first essay of that war which the revolution is to wage against the Church. Still had the Church preserved its faith, its real treasure, pure and untarnished; but it is at that very treasure that Mirabeau will aim his blows. He declared, that if the Catholic religion were not destroyed in France, the revolution could never be consolidated. Immediately after this decision a

code is formed for the clergy, of a long suite of decrees, and it is styled the *civil constitution* of the clergy. But it was merely a constitution of schism and apostasy. This was no more than the first religion, invented as the stepping-stone that should lead the people to a nullity of all religion. Grounded on the principles of Revolutionary Equality and Liberty, it constitutes the people sovereigns in the sanctuary, just as those same principles had constituted them sovereigns around the throne; it endows the people with rights that the gospel has reserved to the ministry; it was no more than a repetition of those errors of Camus, of the apostate of Ypres, and of the schism of Utrecht, long since anathematized. Notwithstanding the disguise it had assumed, the clergy of France soon discovered its real tendency, and at the peril of their lives they refused to take the oath of apostasy. The faithful pastors were expelled from their sees and churches, persecuted, calumniated, and reviled in the grossest manner; for the legislating committee had said to the people, *Dare every thing against the clergy; you shall be supported*. Soon is the national worship converted into that of perjury and intrusion, for the true priests of Christ are driven from his altars; at Nismes and Avignon they are slaughtered; and the man who had sworn to crush Christ and his altars, who had declared his gospel to be a gospel of slaves, together with him who had begun the revolution by declaring that France must be *discatholized* (*decatholisée*) are carried in triumph to one of the most magnificent temples of the Lord, now converted into a den of thieves, into the pantheon of the gods of the revolution, in short into the burial place of a Voltaire, a Jean Jaques Rousseau, or a Mirabeau.¹⁴ Such were the labors of the first revolutionary legislators.

A new set of legislators succeed to the first, and prosecute similar plots against the priesthood. New oaths are decreed, which show in a still clearer light that apostasy is their object. The constancy of the clergy exasperates them. The apostates represent their brethren as refractory to the laws, and decrees of banishment are passed against those who would not swear to their abominations.¹⁵ But these decrees are only a signal given for the brigands to execute that which these conspiring legislators dare not publicly ordain. Their municipalities had taken the precaution to stow into different churches vast numbers of these valiant confessors of their faith, these clergy who were to be banished. The brigands are then let loose, armed with pikes and hatchets, and the *Herculeses* and *Bellerophons* of the bloody September make their appearance; this is also the day on which those *avengers of Abiram* come forward, those men who in the occult lodges had been taught to strike the victims, to tear out the heart, and bear away in triumph the heads of those proscribed persons stiled prophane. When the historian shall proceed to paint the horrors of those bloody days, let him not forget the oaths of the *Knights Kadosch*, and at whom they were aimed. Let him follow into the Lodges those brigands that Philip of Orleans had initiated, and his astonishment will be greatly abated at the sight of so many pontifs and priests immolated on the same day, to the hatred of the adepts and to the manes of their premier chief.¹⁶

Contrary to the expectations of the conspirators, the people of the provinces refused to imitate the brigands of Paris; and thus did whole hecatombs of victims escape the fate to which they had been devoted. It was in vain that the municipality of Paris invited *all France* to seek its safety in the death of so many priests alledged to be refractory.¹⁷ In vain did Lafitte and the other commissaries of the conspiring legislators range throughout the towns and the country declaring that the true spirit of the decrees meant the death and not the banishment of these priests; the people were not yet ripe for such atrocities. It was executioners that were wanting to the conspirators, and not the good will of the second assembly; but it is also true, that from that instant they no longer had it in their power to consummate that which the first assembly had begun. The former legislators had ruined and driven the clergy from the altar; the latter had made a hecatomb of them; and it was in vociferating curses on those who fled to other nations, that they beheld them baffling their rage, and submitting to exile rather than deny the faith of their divine master.

Hitherto, however, different pretences had concealed the real motives of their persecutions against the pastors of the church. The Roman Catholics, indeed, could no longer exercise their religion in France; but the *constitutional intruders* and the disciples of Luther and Calvin still continued to pronounce the name of Christ in their temples. The third assembly now throws off the mask. The Hierophants of Illuminism had declared in their mysteries, that a day would come when *reason would be the sole code of man*. The adept HEBERT appears with this code, and France recognises no other worship but that of *reason*. It is at once the religion of the Sophister, whose *reason* tells him that there is a God, as well as of him whose *reason* tells him that there is no God; it is the religion of the Sophister adoring himself, his own reason, or his supposed wisdom; as it is that of the vain mortal in delirium; nevertheless, this is the only worship tolerated by the Jacobin *equal* and *free*. The wanton devotees of Venus appear; one is immediately set up on the altar and adored as the Goddess of Reason; and the fumes of incense no longer rise but in her worship. The insatiable Guillotine will now devour whatever part of the clergy had hitherto escaped. The time is now come *for stifling in the germ* every thing that can recal to mind the gospel, the God of Christians, his feasts, or those of his saints. They are now proscribed, and are no longer to be seen on the calendars published for the people; thus assimilating them to those that had long since been in use with the Sect. The very order of the weeks, the months, the year, is overturned. The great day of the Lord, the Sunday, is abolished, for it recalled to the minds of the people the existence of a God and of a Creator; but lest the people should still fear the power of an avenging God after death, they will read engraved on the tombs of their forefathers, and on those even into which they are to descend themselves, that *death is only an eternal sleep*; and this was one of the grand mysteries. The few priests who remained, and who still adored an avenging God and a Creator, were either to abjure the very character of the ancient priesthood or perish, stowed up in

loathsome dungeons, beneath the fatal axe of the guillotine, or immersed in the waters of the Loire or of the ocean. Such was the reign of the conspirators Hebert and Robespierre.

The tyrants quarrel among themselves and devour each other; and even the revolution may be said to have its revolutions. Impiety for a time assumes a different shape, but does not relent in its persecution against the gospel and the priesthood. One might have been tempted to think that it was returning on its own footsteps, for the people would still adore a God, notwithstanding this new reign of *Reason*; and Robespierre allows them, for a time, a *supreme being*. Next comes REVEILLERE LEPAUX with his *Theophilanthropic* worship. This was the fourth religion invented by the Sect. It is another tyrant of Israel erecting a golden calf, to hinder the people from adoring the true God. It is the *Magi* of Illuminism inventing religion after religion and god after god, in hopes of disgusting the people with every idea of a god. They, indeed, allow this unfortunate people to pronounce his name again; but let us proceed to this *Theophilanthropic* meeting. There every person who still believes in God is treated as a man imbued with vulgar prejudices, as a fool or a madman. There they make no farther mystery of their designs, that if ever they can infuse their philosophic spirit into the people, all this new worship shall be banished as was the former.¹⁸ It is always the worship of cunning and impious rage against the priesthood of the Lord. The Sect appears for a time to have cast aside the instruments of death; but it is only to condemn its victims to a more slow and cruel end. It never ceases to proclaim its oath of Equality and Liberty;¹⁹ those *two blessings of the revolution*, however, can only be acquired for the priesthood by perjury and apostasy. But woe be to those who refuse it; in vain does the citizen offer them an asylum in his house, domiciliary visits will soon discover them. Do they retire into the forests, into caverns, they are hunted down and banished to the wildernesses of Guyana; and pilots more to be feared than the tempest are sent to convey them.

Thus do all the different plots of the Sophisters of Impiety, which had been so long a time contriving in darkness, burst forth into broad day-light, the object of their mysteries is accomplished; that wish, that oath of *crushing Christ* and his religion, with its ministers, is consummated. But the reader has not forgotten, that the Sophisters of Rebellion coalesced with those of Impiety. The adepts had also sworn to crush the monarch and his throne; here again my reader must have got the start of me, and will immediately say, "but the revolution has also consummated their plots against the throne, as it has those against Christs and his altars."

Here again must the historian wade through scenes of blood and horror, and his sight will be blasted by the most atrocious crimes. If he has the strength and patience he may enumerate them; but, at the same time, let him never lose sight of the Sect that has fostered them. Let him follow its progress; agents may vary, conspirators may succeed each other in the legislative-hall, but they will all proceed from one common den wherein the adepts had contrived their plots. The thread of this horrid catastrophe will always be the

same, though held in succession by different hands. Equality and Liberty will always be the principle, and the consequences will always strike at the monarch and monarchy, as they have done against Christ and his religion. In this revolution of Equality and Liberty, crimes against the church and crimes against the state are entwined together; to-day the church, to-morrow the sovereign, the day after proprietors are attacked; and this continues in a long concatenation which always takes its rise, as from its centre, in the club of the Jacobins, in the reunion of every species of conspiring adept. Their first conspiring legislators, such as Mirabeau, Syeyes, Barnave, Orleans, La Fayette, Lameth, Chabroud, Gregoire, Petion, Bailly, Rabaud, Chapellier, and all the deputies of the Mountain, habitually pass from the tribune of the Jacobins to that of the manège. There a first constitution was prepared, that was to overwhelm the throne as it had done the altar; that was to weaken Louis XVI and strip him not only of his authority, but also of the affection of his subjects; that was to take from him the command of the army, and deprive him of the support of his nobility; that was, in short, to rob him daily of some part of that authority which constitutes the monarch. Two years were spent in disseminating calumnies, in stirring up the people, or in passing decrees as derogatory to royalty as they were injurious to religion. This legislative rout had formed a code of laws against the church, that was to leave but the name of religion to the French nation; from the same clamorous multitude are issued laws against monarchy, that reduced the unfortunate Lewis XVI to a mere cypher; a captive in his palace, surrounded by brigands, he is forced, as the clergy had been, to sanction those very decrees that despoiled him; the clergy had pleaded the duties of the priesthood in opposition to the decrees; the king sets forth the duties of the monarch; he claims, as they had done, his liberty, and for a moment thinks he has obtained it by his flight to Varennes. But the traitor²⁰ La Fayette soon dispelled the illusion, and only permitted him to enjoy it for an instant, that he might drag his royal master back to the capital exposed to every outrage, there to keep him a closer prisoner. Lewis, a prisoner, at length sanctions this constitution of Equality and Liberty; he still bears the title of king, when a new band of ruffians or legislative adepts make their appearance to form the second National Assembly.

The second assembly find Lewis a captive in his palace; and they proceed in the wicked career of their predecessors. Each sitting gave birth to new decrees more and more derogatory to the authority of the monarch; daily were the people stirred up to insurrection against the altar and the throne. At length the day drew near when both were to fall beneath their blows. The long list of clergy that were to be immolated had been already formed by the Jacobin municipality, and the Jacobin legislators surround the palace of Lewis with legions of brigands. He is reduced to seek an asylum in the midst of that very assembly that had sent this mob of miscreants against him; they pronounce his suspension, as according to the new forms they would have encroached on the sovereignty of the people in pronouncing the abolition of royalty; but lest he should mistake the nature of his crime, they proclaim the new era and the

new oath of *Equality* and *Liberty*, both of which are to date from this day. They then decree the convocation of a new assembly which is to pronounce definitively on the fate of the monarch. All these decrees are passed in his presence; for they had barbarously shut up him and his family in a tribune appropriated to the writers of a Newspaper, lest he should lose a single word of the outrages and calumnies vented against his person, or of the laws pronounced for the annihilation of the throne. But his death had been already resolved; meanwhile he is sent to the towers of the Temple to await his cruel destiny.²¹

I should be little inclined to insist on the atrocious feats that signalized these horrid triumphs of the second assembly, or on the arts employed to prepare them, were it not that the true thread of such a multitude of crimes has not been properly discovered. The whole was contrived by Brissot. The Sect, it is true, furnished him with agents, but he was constantly the chief of the conspiracy of the 10th of August. During a whole year he was employed in preparing it; he had conceived it even before he was named a legislator. Initiated in all the mysteries of Holbach's club, and even contending with Condorcet for the precedence among the Voltairian Sophisters, no sooner was he deputed to the grand assembly, than he thought himself called to fulfil the decree which he had long since pronounced, *That the sceptre of the Bourbons should be shivered, and France be transformed into a republic.*²² Scarcely was he seated among these new legislators when he cast his eyes around him in quest of adepts who might cooperate in hurling from his throne that unfortunate monarch whose power the preceding assembly had reduced to a mere phantom. He soon perceived that same hatred to royalty raging in the breasts of a Petion, a Buzot, a Vergniaux, a Gaudet, a Gensonné, or a Louvet, and to them he opened his plans.

According to the plan contrived by the conspirators, we shall see that France was in the first place to be inundated with journals, all stimulating the people to complete the grand work of their liberty. By dint of libels and most odious calumnies against Lewis XVI and his queen, they were to eradicate every sentiment of affection from the heart of the subject. They next bethought themselves of stirring up the foreign powers, that Lewis XVI being engaged in war without, might fall an easier prey to intrigue within. We next hear the club resounding with that very sentence which Brissot afterwards writes to the generals of his revolution: *Europe must be set on fire at the four corners; in that our safety lies.*²³ By means of their adepts and clubs they were perpetually exciting the people to insurrection, in order to cast the odium on the king and queen. Under pretence of taking measures against these frequent insurrections, and to ward off the danger to which they exposed France, they formed in the National Assembly a secret committee under the title of *extraordinary commission*, and which was the head of the faction since called the *Girondins*, from the department of the Gironde, in Gascony. It was there that Brissot, at the head of the Elect, and presiding in the *commission*, prepared in silence those decrees that were to consummate the plots against monarchy. He

wished to give this revolution an appearance of philosophy, solicited by an enlightened people tired of its kings, and willing to recognize no other sovereign than itself. He sent his emissaries into the provinces; but they all returned, declaring that the French nation was unwilling to sacrifice its king. He then founded the legislative assembly, and the opinions of the majority also coincided with the wishes of the people. What he could not accomplish by his sophistry, he now determined to effectuate by means of pikes and his blood-thirsty legions of brigands. He calls those legions from the South known by the name of *Marseillois*; from the West the Jacobins send up the brigands of Brest; *Barbaroux* and *Panis*, *Carra* and *Beaujois*, the intruded vicar of Blois, *Besse* from the Drome, *Gallissot* from Langres, *Fournier* the West Indian, General *Westerman*, *Kieulin* from Strasbourg, *Santerre* the brewer, *Antoine* from Metz, and *Gorsas* the journalist, combined with the *Girondins*. They hold their councils sometimes at Robespierre's, at others at the *Soleil d'Or* (the Golden Sun), a tavern near the Bastille. *Syeyes* and his club of *twenty-two*, or the occult Lodge of the Jacobins, second them with all their might. *Marat*, *Prudhomme*, and *Millin*, with all the Journalists of the Party, daily invent new calumnies against Lewis and his royal Consort. *Alexandre* and the renegade *Chalet* stir up the suburbs of *St. Antoine* and *St. Marteau*. Philip of Orleans contributes his money and his party, because he is in hopes of being himself exalted to the throne, as soon as Lewis XVI should be driven from it; and even though he were not to succeed in obtaining the throne, he will at least have gratified his vengeance.

Every thing is agreed on; the Legions are arrived; at ten minutes before one in the morning the alarm bells ring the prelude to the terrible 10th of August. The second Assembly has now fulfilled its task; Lewis XVI is declared to be deprived of all right to the Crown. He is torn from the Palace of his forefathers, and immured within the towers of the Temple. It is there that the third Assembly of Legislators is to find him, and are to lead him from thence to the scaffold to fulfil the oaths of the Occult Lodges.

Should the historian hesitate at recognizing this progression of the Sect, to conduct us to the terrible catastrophe of the 10th of August, let him turn to the avowals of the adepts themselves.—The day is come when they envy each other the commission of such crimes; they had installed Brissot the leader of the Jacobins; but Robespierre, Marat, and Danton snatch the sceptre from him; he wishes to wrest it from them again and he publishes an address to all the Jacobins of France to substantiate his rights. His apology as well as that of his co-adept Louvet are in substance no more than the history of the very conspiracy I have just been describing. Should it be necessary, for the conviction of the reader, to turn to any part of it, let him hearken to Brissot when saying the Triumvirs Robespierre, Marat, and Danton, have accused me “of being the author of the war, and had it not been for the war Royalty would have still subsisted! Had it not been for the war, thousands of talents, thousands of virtues would never have burst forth from obscurity! And had it not been for the war, Savoy and so many other states whose fetters are about

to fall, would never have acquired their Liberty—They were fearful of a war conducted by a King—Oh! shallow politicians! It was precisely because this perjured King was to conduct the war, because he could only conduct it as a traitor, because this treason alone would infallibly lead him to his ruin; it was for such reasons, that it was necessary to have a war conducted by the King.—*It was the abolition of Royalty that I had in view when I caused war to be declared*—Men who were enlightened understood me, when, on the 30th of December 1791, they heard me answer Robespierre, who was always talking to me of treasons to be feared, *I have but one fear, which is, that we shall not be betrayed; we stand in need of treachery, for our whole safety depends on our being betrayed*—For treasons would soon make that which thwarts the greatness of the French nation disappear, I mean Royalty.”

But while this Sophister is declaiming so much on *treasons*, and glorying in that which he had for so long a time premeditated against his unfortunate Sovereign, which he makes his title of preeminence in the eyes of the Jacobins, he takes care not to mention that he would have betrayed the traitors themselves, had Lewis XVI had money sufficient to supply his extravagant demands. On the 9th of August, the eve of the day when all the Conspirators were to be put in action, he sent to ask the King for *twelve millions* (500,000*l.*) as a price for withdrawing from the Conspiracy and for rendering it abortive.²⁴—What extraordinary men are these Sophisters, and what ideas do they form of their own virtues! But truth imposes on us the disgusting task of hearkening to this man, while narrating his own crimes. He will boast of the time that he employed in meditating and preparing them, and will represent the callous indifference with which he viewed the canibal scenes of that bloody day as greatness of soul. “They accuse me (he continues) of having presided over the *extraordinary commission*; and if the *able heads of that commission had not prepared*, and that a long while previous to the 10th of August, those decrees that saved France, such as the *suspension of the King, the convocation of the Convention, the organization of a Republican Ministry*; if these decrees had not been wisely combined, so as to banish every idea of force or terror; had they not borne the stamp of grandeur and of cool deliberation, the Revolution of the 10th of August would have appeared to the eyes of all Europe to have been a *Revolution of canibals*.—But at the sight of wisdom presiding in the midst of these storms, and staying even the arm of carnage, Europe then believed that France was saved. Let who will calumniate the 10th of August, the valour of the federated bands and the deliberate decrees of the National Assembly, which *had been prepared by the Commission*, will for ever immortalize that day.”²⁵

Let us follow this strange Sophister; for, after showing how he betrayed Lewis XVI, he will now explain the manner in which he betrayed both the Nation and the Assembly; how he and his adherents gradually led the people, and the majority of the Assembly to the commission of crimes, of which neither approved. “My opinion (of the 9th of July) on the deposition of the King has been much cavilled at. The same has happened to Vergniaux—I here

call to witness my Colleagues, all those who were acquainted with *the state of our Assembly, with the weakness and minority of the patriots*, the corruption of terror, the aversion in which the enthusiasts held the court party. Doubtless, it needed no small share of courage to risk that eloquent hypothesis on the crimes of the King in the midst of such an assembly as Vergniaux did. And the day after that coalition, which so much weakened the party of the Patriots, was it not a talk that required courage which I undertook, to give a lively description of the crimes of the King, and to propose his being brought to trial. *This was blasphemy in the eyes of the majority, nevertheless I dared to speak it.*"

When describing the *Girondins*, his chief support, he says, "perpetually occupied in repairing their faults, in union with other enlightened patriots, they were preparing the minds to pronounce the suspension of the King—They were far from conceiving such a step; and this was my reason for risking that famous discourse of the 26th July on the deposition, a discourse that in the conception of ordinary minds was a dereliction of principle, but in the eyes of the enlightened, was only a prudent and necessary manœuvre. I well knew that the Aristocratical party wished nothing so much as to meet the question on the deposition, because they thought themselves certain of success, and because *the minds were not yet ripe in the Departments—the defeat of the Patriots was therefore inevitable. It was necessary then to tack, in order to gain time, to enlighten the public opinion, or to ripen it for insurrection;* for the deposition of the King could be effected but by one of these two means.—Such were my motives for pronouncing my discourse on the 26th of July, which exposed me to so much reproach, and even ranked me among the secret Royalists, while the *Patriote François* (the newspaper that he published) *never ceased to prepare the minds in the Departments for these extraordinary measures.*"

Amidst the multitude of reflexions that must naturally arise on the perusal of these avowals, the words *it was therefore necessary to tack, in order to gain time, to enlighten the public opinion, or to ripen it for insurrection*, present us with a great axiom in the theory of Revolutions. They show us, that those insurrections represented as the grand movements of a people, as the act of the majority of a nation, are merely the efforts of an united faction against the majority of a nation; that had the opinions of the majority of the nation coincided with the views of the Conspirators, they would not have been obliged to seek the aid of brigands, in order to triumph by arms and terror over an unarmed and unsuspecting people. It may be objected, that France had its National Guards; most certainly it had; but Brissot carefully avoided calling on them for succour. He had seen them flocking from all parts of France to the federation on the 14th of July; but these truly *federated bands* had shown the greatest marks of attachment to Lewis and his Royal Consort; and it was not to such men that the Conspirators dared propose the deposition of the King. What plan do the conspirators adopt? They assemble all those brigands called *Marseillois*, (not because they were inhabitants of Marseilles or Provence, but because the greater part of them had been condemned to the galleys at Marseilles), and surname these brigands of all countries *The Federated Bands*. They oblige the

inhabitants of the suburbs to fall into the ranks with them; they cause the commander of the National Guard to be murdered, that, being without a chief, it might have no unity of action, and that those who had been seduced might join the brigands. They then represent as a general insurrection of the people, as the will of the nation, that which they have themselves demonstrated to have been no other than an insurrection of their own cut-throat bands against their King and the nation at large. Such has been the whole progress of the Revolution; all has been done by mobs and insurrection, or, as the chiefs style it, by *means of force and terror*, which have enslaved a nation that had resisted every means of seduction.

Similar proofs relating to that atrocious Revolution of the 10th of August are to be found in Louvet's discourse; he also boasts of his cunning in preparing the plots. "*We Jacobins wished for war*, (he says) because peace must have undoubtedly killed the Republic—because, undertaken in time, the misfortunes inevitable at the first outset could be repaired, and would at once purify the Senate, the Armies, and the Throne—Every man worthy of being a Republican loudly called for war. *They dared aspire to strike a mortal blow at Royalty itself; to exterminate it for ever, in France first, AND THEN THROUGHOUT THE UNIVERSE.*" He then alludes to the parts acted by his accomplices. "Those whom you call my friends (he says to Robespierre) were *Roland*, who had denounced Lewis XVI to all France—*Servan*, who was involved in the honourable retreat of the Minister of the Interior, and only returned into office with him, and that to save France—*Petion*, whose conduct, at once vigorous and wise, was *wearing out Royalty*—*Brissot*, he was writing against Monarchy" (Condorcet was also writing in the same cause)—"*Vergniaux, Gensonné*, and many others, *were preparing before hand the plan for the suspension*—*Gaudet* was seated in the chair when the cannon began to roar.—*Barbaroux* was *advancing at the head of the Marseillois for the 10th of August*; and lucky it is for you that he headed them—I (Louvet) was writing the *Sentinelle*; and your eternal vapourings oblige me to say, that my journal contributed much more to the Revolution of the 10th of August, than your *Defenseur de la Constitution* (written by Robespierre)." ²⁶

Thus have these sanguinary Legislators furnished the Historian with the proofs of their own guilt, and of their crimes against their Sovereign. Let this Republic then appear, this Republic of Equality and Liberty, so long cherished by the Sophisters and nurtured by the adepts in their Occult Lodges! Lewis is no longer seated on the throne! Let not Lewis, nor any Bourbon, nor any living creature aspire to it in future. *Royalty is abolished*, and France is proclaimed a *Republic*. This is the first decree of those Conspirators styling themselves a *Convention*, and succeeding to those who had called themselves the second National Assembly (*September 21, 1792*). The better to establish Equality, every mark of rank, even the comon marks of civility as well as the title of *king*, are proscribed, and *Citizen* is in future the sole appellation allowed (*October 29*). Lest the very sight of a faithful subject should recal the idea of a King, death is pronounced against every Emigrant who shall dare to set foot

on the territories of the Republic (*November 10*). The same punishment is pronounced against any man who should *dare to propose the re-establishment of Royalty in France (December 4)*.

The Sect now proceeds toward the completion of its mysteries. Lewis, who had been seated on the throne, still exists; and it was not in vain that the adept had been taught in the caverns of the *Knights Kadosch* to trample on crowns and stab Kings. To these atrocious games reality must succeed; *Robespierre* advances; but let him and his hangman range for a time on the field; he is no more than a wild beast that the Sect have let loose. He is not the wretch that devours the captive Monarch; it is the Sect. Even in Lewis are two distinct persons in the eyes of the Jacobins. They would perhaps have loved and revered him in private life; but he was King, and they foam with rage at the very idea; his head falls on the scaffold; their relentless vengeance even strikes the statue of the beloved and great Henry IV; every monument that can recal the idea of a King falls beneath their blows. It was not at Lewis, it was at Royalty, that these modern Vandals aimed. They declared Lewis XVI to be tyrant; they continue to proclaim it; but they have their own interpretation; they style him so just as the Sophisters styled *every King a Tyrant*. They knew well, that Lewis XVI had during a reign of nineteen years signed many a pardon, but had never signed a single death-warrant; and that certainly is not the character of a tyrant. They knew well, that the first act of Lewis on coming to the throne was to release his subjects from the tax customary on such an occasion; he abolished the custom of the *Corvées* (or bind days); neither the accused, nor even the guilty, could be put to the torture during his reign; and do such edicts bespeak the tyrant? They also saw him relinquish in favour of his subjects all the feudal rights on his own domain, that he might obtain by example that alleviation for his people, which he could not establish by authority without making an attack upon private property. They knew well, that Lewis XVI was entirely free from those vices which are either odious or burdensome to nations; he was religious, an enemy of ostentation, compassionate and generous to the poor; they had seen him lavishing his privy purse to warm, to cloath, to feed the indigent; seen him even carry in person succour to the friendless cottager; they had seen the poor raising the snow into a pyramid, and shaping it out into a monument of gratitude to Lewis XVI mitigating the rigours of the winter. They knew well, that the gratitude of the poor is not so industrious to shew attachment to a tyrant. In vain will they upbraid him as a despot or a tyrant; for they cannot deny, that never a Prince was seated on a throne more zealous in his application to his duty, or less jealous of his rights than Lewis XVI; confidence and love seem to be his leading features; and if ever he spoke in that peremptory way which denotes the determination of being obeyed, it was when, surrounded by assassins, he so often repeated to his guards, *If it be necessary to shed but one single drop of blood for my safety, I forbid it to be shed*; and such are the orders of a tyrant!!! Should calumny obstinately persist, let it read these last sentiments of Lewis: "I pray all those whom I may have offended through inadvertency (for I do not

remember to have offended any person knowingly), or those to whom I may have given bad example, or scandal, to pardon whatever injury they may think I can have done them. "Let the regicide judges read (for it is of them he speaks and says) "I pardon with all my heart those who have constituted themselves my enemies without my giving them cause, and I pray God that he will pardon them." Let them follow him to the scaffold, and there contemplate, if they dare, that serenity of his countenance, in the midst of his executioners, which so well denotes the tranquillity of his soul: and they dare not hear his last words: Drums are beaten, and trumpets sounded, to drown his voice; for they are conscious that he neither lived nor is about to die the death of a tyrant.

These conspiring legislators, however, knew it long before they sat in judgment on their King; for if you ask them, when in the very act of regicide, of what crime Lewis XVI has been guilty? They will answer, Lewis was a King, and our wish is the death of every King. Harken to the Jacobin *Robert*: when he comes to vote he says, "I condemn the tyrant to death, and in pronouncing this sentence, *I have but one regret*, which is, that my power *does not extend over all the tyrants, to condemn them all to the same fate.*"—Hear, again, the Jacobin *Carra*: "*For the instruction of nations, in all times, and in all places, and for the consternation of tyrants, I vote for death.*"—Or the Jacobin *Boileau*: "*Nations accustomed to consider their Kings as sacred objects will necessarily say, 'the heads of Kings, however, cannot be so sacred, since the axe can strike them, and that they fall beneath the avenging arm of justice.'*" *It is thus you are launching nations into the career of Liberty; I vote for death.*"²⁷

Should the real cause of the death of Lewis XVI not sufficiently appear in such language, let the reader revert to that club of the Sophisters where Condorcet was learning that a day would come *when the Sun would shine on none but free men, and when Kings and Priests should have no existence but in history or on the stage*. Turn back to those conspiring dens haunted by the Occult Masons, and doubt for a moment, if you can, of this historical truth, that Lewis perished upon the scaffold *because he was King*; that the daughter of the Cezars perished *because she was Queen*; and never was the more deserving of that exalted station, than when she showed such undaunted courage and greatness of soul in the midst of her murderers. Madame Elizabeth perished, because neither virtue, innocence, nor magnanimity could efface the stain, indelible in the eyes of the Jacobin, of being the daughter and sister of a King. Philip of Orleans crouched into wickedness and infamy, and sacrificed his immense fortune to the Sect; he cowardly and basely votes for the death of his royal relation to please the Sect; he takes the name of *Equality*, abandoning rank and birth, and even denies his father to court the Sect; but no sooner are his crimes unnecessary for the progress of that Sect, than he is dragged away to the scaffold because he is of royal descent. But the conspirators are fearful, that if they struck at that model of virtue and goodness the Dutchess of Orleans, the axe would fall from the hands of the executioners. The numerous sacrifices made by the Dutchess of Bourbon and the Prince of Conti proved

to the conspirators that these remnants of blood-royal were little to be feared; nevertheless they are obliged, with every person of royal extraction, to fly the territories of the new Republic. To cement this hatred for Kings, the day on which Lewis XVI was murdered on the scaffold is declared a perpetual festival for *this people equal and free*; and on this day the *oath of hatred to Royalty* is to be solemnly sworn by all the magistrates; and this oath is to be in future a necessary qualification for the enjoyment of the rights of Citizen in this new Republic; such are the regulations decreed; and death is pronounced, as we have already seen, against whoever dares propose the re-establishment of Monarchy.

Notwithstanding the rivers of blood that flowed in France, to consume these plots against Royalty, the Sect and its agents behold these horrid scenes with all the brutal exultation of cannibals. The guillotine is declared permanent in Paris, and ambulant in the Provinces in quest of Royalists and Priests. New words are even invented to denote the butcheries that now take place, for our forefathers had not even formed an idea of cruelties to such an extent. Whole catacombs of victims are shot *in mass*, and this was styled *Fusillades*; hecatombs also were drowned, and that species of murder they called *Noyades*.²⁸ Is it the Sect then that thus hardens and brutalizes the hearts of the Jacobins? Are we to turn back to their lessons to explain both the number and the choice of victims, the cool wickedness of the adepts, the atrocious joy of the executioners? Yes, all you who seek the cause elsewhere, forget the mysteries; I am obliged to call you back to the true parent of this sanguinary tribe; yes, it was the principles of the Sect that made *Barnave*, at the sight of heads carried on pikes, ferociously smile and exclaim, *Was that blood then so pure that one might not even spill one drop of it?* Yes, it was those principles that made *Chapellier*, *Mirabeau*, and *Gregoire*, when they beheld the brigands surrounding the palace of Versailles in sanguinary rage, thirsting after murder, and particularly after the blood of the Queen, exclaim, *The People must have victims*. It was those principles that even smothered the affection of Brother for Brother, when the adept *Chenier*, seeing his own Brother delivered over to the hands of the public executioner, coolly said, *If my Brother be not in the true sense of the Revolution, let him be sacrificed*; that eradicated the feeling of the child for his parents, when the adept *Philip* brought in triumph to the club of the Jacobins *the heads of his father and mother!!* This insatiable Sect calls out, by the mouth of the bloody *Marat*, for *two hundred and seventy thousand heads*, declaring that before long it will count only by millions. They know well, that their systems and last mysteries of Equality can only be accomplished in its full extent by depopulating the world; and, by the mouth of *Le Bo*, it answers the inhabitants of Montauban, terrified with the want of provisions, “*Fear not; France has a sufficiency for twelve million inhabitants; All the rest (that is the other twelve millions) must be put to death, and then there will be no scarcity of bread.*”²⁹

We wish to cast the odium of such horrors on a *Marat*, a *Robespierre*, or some such wretches; but *Barnave* preceded Robespierre; and the oath of the Sect to denounce *father, mother, friends, brothers, and sisters*, and to look upon

every person as proscribed who should not adopt the revolutionary principles, did not originate with them. Such was the oath of the Lodges long before the existence of the Jacobins. It was not from Robespierre, but in Holbach's club, that Condorcet learned to exclaim as he did in the legislative assembly, *Let the world perish, rather than sacrifice our principles of Equality!* It would not be the brigands alone, but Syeyes, Garat, the elect of the Sophisters, and the club of the *twenty-two*, that would smile at the horror we had conceived at such deeds. Thus did Syeyes answer Mallet du Pan, when he expressed his detestation of the means employed in the revolution: *You are always talking to us of the means employed; but, Sir, it is the End, it is the Object, the Ultimate View, that you must learn to consider.* And this very principle, that consoles such men as Syeyes for such a multitude of atrocities, is to be discovered in the Code of the Illuminized Lodges, whence it found its way into the Jacobin club.³⁰

A day may come when history will be more accurately informed *how* and *in what haunts* this blood-thirsty Sect pointed out its victims, and taught its adepts not to be startled at the number of them. Meantime I have promised to lead my reader back to that which held its sittings in the *Rue Sourdiere*, where *Savalette de Lange* presided; where the Illuminees were received; and where *Dietrich*, who was one of the first that brought the mysteries into France, was seated. The following anecdote may guide the historian in his researches on that subject.

At the time when the brigands were put into requisition, when the castles of the Nobility were being consumed by fire in the provinces, when the heads of the Nobility were being carried in triumph on pikes, the *Abbé Royou*, well known for his zeal against the Sophisters, was obliged to fly from Paris to escape the fury of the *Palais Royal* mob. He had wandered for some time from village to village, when he privately returned to Paris, and called upon me about four o'clock in the morning. On my questioning him how he had passed his time during his flight, "I lived (said he) chiefly with the curates, and was very well received by them, but could not make any long stay with them, lest I should expose them to similar danger with myself. I soon began to suspect the last curate with whom I took refuge when I saw him receive a letter from Paris. He opened and read it with such an air, that my suspicions were greatly increased. Strongly suspecting that I was the object of this letter, I watched the opportunity when he was gone to the church, to enter his room, where I found the epistle couched in the following terms: *Your letter, my dear friend, was read in presence of the whole club. They were surprised to find so much philosophy in a village curate. Be tranquil, my dear curate; we are three hundred; we mark the heads and they fall; only keep your people ready, dispose your parishioners to execute the orders, and they shall be given to you in time.*

(Signed) DIETRICH, Secretary."

To the many reflexions that must naturally arise on the reading of such a letter, I shall only add, that the club to which these three hundred belonged had transferred the place of its sittings to the suburbs of St. Honoré, and that it assembled there for a long time without being observed by the court; when

a scene of drunkenness apprised the king of the fate that awaited him. At the conclusion of one of those banquets *sacred to fraternity*, all the brethren made a puncture in their arm and received their blood in their glasses; they then drank the toast *Death to kings*, and thus concluded the fraternal repast. This anecdote will easily suggest of what species of men the *legion of twelve hundred*, proposed by *Jean de Brie* to the Convention, was to be composed, who were to be dispersed over the whole globe to murder all the kings of the earth.

Thus did the Sect, under the name of *Fraternity*, by the frenzy of its Equality, by the very nature of its principles, and by the horrid rites of its Lodges, so degenerate the hearts of its adepts, as to form (like the old man of the mountain) clubs of three hundred assassins at a time. Thus do the mysteries explain the ferocious joy of a Marat, of a St. Just, of a Le Bon, of a Carrier, of a Collot D'Herbois, and the still more ferocious serenity of the Sophisters of the revolution in the midst of massacres and rivers of blood.

But the vengeance of that God who has permitted so heavy a scourge to befall France, now appears to have taken another turn. In that country the altar of Christ is overturned, and the throne of its king annihilated. Those who had conspired against the altar and the throne now conspire against each other. The intruded clergy, the Deists, and the Atheists, butchered the Catholics. The Intruders, the Deists, and the Atheists now begin to cut each other's throats. The Constitutionals drove out the Royalists, and are in their turn put to flight by the Republicans. The Democrats of the Republic *one and indivisible*, murder the Democrats of the *federative* Republic; the faction of the *mountain* guillotines the *Girondin* faction, and then split into the faction of Hebert and Marat, of Danton and Chabot, of Cloots and Chaumette, and in fine into the faction of Robespierre, who devours them all, and is in his turn devoured by the factions of Tallien and Freron. Brissot and Gensonné, Gaudet and Fauchet, Rabaud and Barbaroux, with thirty more, are condemned to death by Fouquier Tinville, just as they had condemned their king; Fouquier is himself sent to the scaffold, just as he had sent Brissot and Co. Petion and Buzot perish with hunger in the forests, and are devoured by the wild beasts; Perrin dies in prison; Valazé and Labat stab themselves; Marat falls beneath the arm of Charlotte Corday; Robespierre dies on the scaffold, and Syeyes alone survives, because the cup of vengeance is not yet exhausted on miserable France. *Pentarques* (or the government of five), with a two-fold senate, are now become a new curse on this unhappy country. A Rewbel, Carnot, Barras, Le Tourneur, and a Reveillère Lepaux, assume the command of its armies, drive away its deputies equal and free, fulminate its Sections, and rule it with a rod of iron. Every thing trembles before them; when they grow jealous of each other, they plot destruction, and drive each other into banishment; but new tyrants succeed and unite together; and at this present time the ruling Deities in France are banishment, stupor, fear, and the Pentarques. Terror has imposed silence throughout the Empire, and this vast prison contains twenty millions of slaves, all sculking into obscurity at the very name of a Merlin or a Rewbel,

or at the threat of a journey to Cayenne; such is the *Majesty* of that people so frequently declared *Equal, Free, and Sovereign*.

The reader, perhaps, may think that in the midst of such massacres, factions, tyrants, and terror, the Sect must have lost the thread of all its plots; but it has never lost sight of them for a moment. The Pentarques are more than ever stimulated by it against the Clergy and the Nobility; while the ultimate mysteries threaten the Pentarques themselves. In vain shall they attempt to preserve a sufficiency of the Social Order to keep them in possession of that authority which they have erected on the ruins of the throne. The Sect has thus far proceeded successfully toward the accomplishment of its mysteries; but it will not stop here; has it not sworn to annihilate *Property* as well as the throne? During the first assembly, did not those conspirators, now *calling themselves Constitutionalists*, annihilate the property of the clergy; and the next assembly that of the nobility, under the pretence of emigration, while those who remained in France were pillaged under pretence of confiscation? Then come the adepts *Bruissart, Robespierre*, and the two *Juliens*; and they write that the favourable moment is now come to *extirpate the MERCANTILE ARISTOCRACY, as well as that of the Nobles*. In their secret correspondence, just as Weishaupt does in his mysteries, they declare, that *merchantism (negotiantism) must be crushed. That wherever a large number of rich merchants were to be found, there were sure to be found as many cheats, and Liberty could not establish its empire there.*³¹ Accordingly, spoliations and requisitions have robbed the merchants and citizens of their property, just as the Clergy and Nobility had been robbed before them. But even this is not the accomplishment of the *grand end*, of the ultimate views of the Sect, against all property, against all society whatever. Even under the iron reign of the Pentarques, let us attend to the addresses published by the adepts *Drouet, Babœuf*, and *Langelot*.

*Extract from the Address to the French People,
found in Babœuf's papers.*

“People of France,—During fifteen centuries you lived in slavery, therefore unhappy. It is scarcely six years since you began to breathe in *expectation of independence, of happiness, and of Equality*. At all times and in all places men have been lulled with fine words; never, and in no place, did they obtain the thing with the word. From time immemorial has it been hypocritically repeated, that *men are equal*, and from time immemorial the most monstrous inequality has insolently pressed on mankind. *Ever since the existence of Civil Societies*, the finest appendage of man has undoubtedly been recognized, but has never been once realized. *Equality has never been any thing but a noble and sterile fiction of the law*. Now that it is called for with a louder voice, they answer us, Wretches hold your peace! *Equality in deed* is a mere chimera; be contented with a conditional equality. You are all equal before the law, ye

rascals! What more do you want?—What more do we want!—*Ye Legislators, ye Governors, ye Rich, ye Proprietors, now hearken in your turn:*

“We are all equal.—That principle is incontestable. - - - Very Well! We mean in future to live and die as we are born. We will have real Equality, or death. That is what we want, and we will have that real equality, cost what it will. Wo be to those whom we shall meet between it and us! Wo to the man who shall dare oppose so positive a determination! the French revolution is but the forerunner of a revolution greater by far and much more solemn; and which will be the last.- -

“What do we ask more than the Equality of rights? Why, we will not only have that Equality transcribed in the declaration of the rights of man and the citizen; we will have it in the midst of us, under the roofs of our houses. We consent to every thing for the acquisition of it, even to clear decks, that we may possess it alone; Perish the arts, if requisite, provided we do but preserve real Equality!

“Legislators and Governors, Proprietors rich and bowel-less, in vain do you attempt to paralyze our sacred enterprize, by saying, we are only re-producing the Agrarian law that has been so often asked for before.

“Calumniators! hold your peace in your turn, and in the silence of confusion hearken to our pretensions, dictated by nature, and grounded on justice.

“The Agrarian Law, or the equal partition of lands, was the momentary wish of a few soldiers without principles, of a few clans actuated rather by instinct than by reason. We aim at something far more sublime, far more equitable, GOODS IN COMMON, OR THE COMMUNITY OF ESTATES! No more individual properties in land, for the earth belongs to nobody. We demand and will enjoy the goods of the earth in common. The fruits will belong to all.

“Disappear now, ye disgusting distinctions of rich and poor, of higher and lower, of master and servant, of GOVERNING and GOVERNED! for no other distinction shall exist among mankind, than those of AGE and SEX.”³²

The authors of this address were certainly too hasty in their publication; but every reader will see that their language perfectly coincides with the *Making* of Illuminism. France, it is true, was not yet sufficiently prepared for this last plot; but it is necessary sometimes to detach certain adepts to sound the way, though afterwards the Sect should find it necessary to disavow and sacrifice its offspring. Though Babœuf may have been sacrificed to the mysteries, his accomplices still live; their legions imposed upon the judges and on the Pentarques themselves, and they dared not condemn *Drouet*. It is to be supposed, that after completely pillaging the Clergy and the Nobility, their successfully despoiling many merchants, tradesmen, and citizens, in the same manner as the Sect had pillaged the two first Orders of the State, a single defeat should suffice to check its views? Or can we say, that it will not one day proclaim that *Equality in deed* which shall banish from the earth all those *distinctions of rich and poor, of higher and lower, of master and servant*, and ultimately of GOVERNING and GOVERNED?

Some persons may flatter themselves that our sciences may protract the day of barbarism, when men are to roam in clans without laws or magistrates; but have we not seen in the mysteries, that our sciences, in the eyes of the Sect, are no other than the prime cause of our misfortunes, of the alledged slavery of society?³³ And if facts did not speak clearly enough, if the monuments of art falling beneath the blows of the Jacobins did not sufficiently denote the veneration it bears to the productions of genius; if any apparent respect should still be shown to the fathers of letters, let not the reader conceive that the adepts have really blushed at the sight of these modern vandals: Fire and sword have only hastened that progress which they so much extol; it was not Babœuf alone that would exclaim, *Perish the arts, if requisite, provided we do but preserve real Equality!* The Jacobin Philosopher, if sincere, will have no difficulty in saying what the legislators have so often proclaimed from the tribune, "What need have we of all your colleges, academies, and libraries? Needs there so much study and so many books for learning the *only true science? Let the nations know the rights of man, and they will know enough.*"³⁴

I know that a museum and a national institute are held out as objects of magnificence, in which the revolution would appear to infuse new vigour into the arts and sciences; but let the sage in the midst of this vast museum reflect for a moment. Thunderstruck at this immense assemblage of theft, pillage, and robbery erected into trophies, will he not exclaim, Do these men then barefacedly scoff at every idea of property who thus display the fruits of their rapine and extortion? After having pillaged and destroyed every thing within their own country, they set off to despoil the neighbouring States tranquilly reposing on the banks of the Scheldt, the Meuse, or the Tiber. They divide the gold they have stolen among themselves, and they exalt to public view what they have robbed for the State. Within this temple of the arts, therefore, the idea of property is as much blasted as within the Occult Lodges of those adepts who have sworn to annihilate the social compact.

And what is this national Lyceum, where we find the Geometrician *La Place*, the Astronomer *La Lande*, the Poetaster *Chenier*, the Commentator of the Zodiac *Dupuis*, the Historian of the mountains *La Metherie*, all consecrating their studies and their science to prove that God does not exist? Behold the Sect smiling at their labours, for it is aware, that Atheism will soon annihilate arts and sciences, as well as property and society. Little does it concern itself whether the greater part of the literati stop short in the career of the mysteries; for they are forwarding the views of the Sect without knowing it, even where they have made their stand. Its degrees are progressive, and it well knows that the sophisticated and atheistical Jacobin will beget the disorganizing Jacobin. In the Lyceum, or adhering to Babœuf and Drouet, it beholds its offspring, laborious Atheists professing its principles, and, in short, true Jacobins; and though this *name* should for a time be rejected with contempt, it will not forget that the principles, and *not the name*, constitute the disciple. Some are disgusted with the first consequence flowing from these principles, and they stop; while others complacently proceed to the last. The Sect will therefore fix

the former in its first degrees; the latter are initiated in its ultimate mysteries; and whether its agents are literati or brutes, it is of no consequence to the Sect. In the French revolution it has always had the art to distribute the different parts as it does its degrees, and to vary them without every losing sight of its ultimate object.

In its attack upon God, we have seen its intruded Clergy, its Deists, and its Atheists. The first overturned the altars of the Catholic religion; the second, of the Lutheran and Calvinist church, and of every religion adoring Christ; and the third blasphemously proclaimed the non-existence of a God.

In the attack on monarchy the Sect has had successively its *Neckerists*, its *Fayetists*, its *Constitutionalists*, its *Girondins*, its *Conventionists*. Herein it is that the reader may observe the Sect varying and gradually distributing its parts to wind up the horrid scene to the bloody catastrophe. Here we see those different actors faithfully fulfilling the parts that had been distributed to them. Syeyes pronounces that the tyrant shall die: this tyrant is Lewis XVI. Necker seizes on him, and delivers him over to the legislative conspirators of the third order; La Fayette and Bailly, with the Constituent Assembly, leave him but the shadow of a sceptre and his royal robes rent asunder. They then deliver him up, after having taught the people to drag him ignominiously from Versailles to the Town-hall of Paris, from Varennes to the Thuilleries. The unfortunate monarch is now surrounded by banditti, armed with pikes. *Brissot* and his *Girondins* proceed in that career begun by *Necker* and *La Fayette*, and find that with a mere breath the throne can be overturned; Lewis is then dragged from the Thuilleries to the Towers of the Temple. *Robespierre*, *Petio*, and *Marat*, are the next that seize on his royal person; and from the Temple they hurry him to the scaffold. In this long concatenation of seditions, rebellions, and treasons, to the very consummation of the regicide, I see various actors; but the guilt of all and each is equal. They are all agents in the conspiracy of Equality and Liberty; all proceed from the same tenebrous recesses; all are Jacobins.

In the conspiracy against property and all society the same gradation and principles are to be observed; and with a similar constancy does the Sect tend toward the grand *ultimatum*. The irreligious Sophisters of every class despoil the Clergy; the Sophisters commoners plunder the Nobility; next come the sophisticated banditti, who lay violent hands on the riches of the merchant or the wealth of the commoner. Meanwhile the conquering Sophisters display the spoils of foreign nations; and the atheistical Sophisters at length break the last tie of society. The former had only admitted one part of the mysteries; the latter are willing to consummate them all. They will that property shall not exist, either in the church, the nobility, the commoner, or in any mortal whatever. In virtue of their Equality, the earth is to be the property of none, the produce the property of all. In virtue of their Liberty, *Condorcet* refuses to obey a God, *Brissot* to recognize a king, and *Babœuf* to submit to a republic, to magistrates, or to any governing power. And whence do all these men come? All proceed from the Jacobin club; they are the offspring of

Holbach's club, of the Masonic Lodges, and of the Illuminizing Mysteries. Their natural parents are Voltaire, Jean Jaques Rousseau, the Knights *Kadosch*, and the Bavarian *Spartacus*.

Thus do we trace the disciples of the Sect perpetually aiming at the accomplishment of its mysteries; whether in their crimes and success against their God or against their king, whether in their essays against republics or the last vestiges of society; every step in the French revolution demonstrates the activity of its adepts, brigands of every degree, pursuing its ultimate views. Indeed it has not yet accomplished all its designs; and may God grant that they may be foiled in the attempt! But let the mind of man calculate, if it be able, the crimes committed by the Sect, and the disasters that have already befallen France; and when it shall have succeeded in this calculation, will it dare venture to explore those entailed on futurity? Let the father of every family contemplate, and inscribe on the threshold of his house, that threat of the adepts contained in the following sentence: *The French Revolution is but the forerunner of a Revolution greater by far, and much more solemn.*

That nations may be awakened to their danger, let us show them that they are all, without exception, menaced with similar misfortunes to those that have befallen France. Such is their fate decreed by the Sect in its Mysteries; for their views are not confined to any particular people, but aim at all nations whatever. To facts, therefore, I will once more appeal; and my reader shall see how perfectly they coincide with the Code of the Sect on the extent and universality of its conspiracies.

1. See Chap. IV and VI, in Vol. II. of these Memoirs.
2. See the *Seance Royale* for the Land and Stamp-Tax.
3. I was not sufficiently acquainted with this man's character, when I placed him on the same line with Turgot and Malesherbs.—Let this artful and ambitious intriguer be judged by his own words: *A hundred thousand crowns for you if you will make me Controller General—I am rich, but cannot boast of birth; money then must supply the defect of ancestry—If one is possessed of money, it is not to be spared when it can serve one's ambition—You talk to me of the people: they may be useful to me, and I will make a tool of them; they cannot hurt us, and I will play upon them.—As to religion, we must have one for the people, but not their Christianity; we will destroy that....* Let Necker come to enquire on what occasions or to whom he held this monstrous language and I will begin by naming the person who received the hundred thousand crowns for having procured him the post of *Controller General*; I will in the next place tell him, that he held such language to the Lady who had the courage to upbraid him with it to his face, and in the midst of all his glory; to her whom he reproached with shedding tears over her murdered brother, while she taxed him with his murder, because he feared her brother would betray his secret; to that person who refused to enroll herself in that cohort of flatterers that were to open the way for him, by thousands of calumnious accusations, invented by himself and his emissaries, against persons holding stations that he coveted for himself or his adherents, and which his partizans forwarded to the

unfortunate Lewis XVI; to that person through whose medium he wished to persuade the king that *M. de Sartine* had stolen twenty-two millions out of fifty-three entrusted to him, though the minister needed only to be informed of the plot to show the falsity of the imputation;—in fine, to that person whom he courted as necessary for his intrigues, who discovered him to be a monster, and who laid open all his plots and iniquities to *M. de Maurepas* and *Leewis XVI*. Let him learn, that if his secret crimes are to have a place in history, the proofs of all these are not yet lost.

4. In order to second the views of her worthy father in this warfare on the distinction of estates, while he was intriguing at the palace, *Madame de Stael* was playing the same part in Paris. She established at her house a sort of Office of Inscription. *La Fayette* and the *Lameths* would bring the traitors to her table; and the names of those dastards, who would promise to abandon their Order and pass over to the Third Estate, were immediately inscribed on her list.
5. See the letter attributed to *Montesquieu*.—In Vol. II, page 94, on the testimony of the *Abbé Pointe*, I quoted a letter attributed to *Montesquieu* by an English journalist, but could not name the paper. It has since been discovered in the *Courier*, or *Evening Gazette*, of August 4, 1795. It is there said that *Montesquieu* wrote it, a few years before his death, to a president of one of the Parliaments of France. I could wish to have seen the person named to whom it was written, or in whose possession it is at present, for it is of a complexion to change our ideas very much as to the moderation of that writer. It would immediately class him among the conspiring sophisters; and, to pass such a sentence on this author, the clearest proofs should be required. But it appears, whoever was the author of that letter, he was far advanced in the plots of the Sect, for he very accurately describes the conduct of the *Jacobins* with respect to the foreign troops in the French service; neither does he appear to be ignorant of the plan for separating Ireland from England.
6. Many authors have fallen into an error with respect to the first formation of the National Guards; and they ground their assertions on a resolution of the Committee of Electors, sent from the town-hall to all the Sections of Paris, ordering the formation of this guard, and signed *Flesselles*, *Tassin*, *De Leutre*, *Fauchet*, the *Marquis de la Salle*; but it is a certain fact, and within the knowledge of every body, 1st, That this National Guard was formed only two days after the taking of the Bastille; and 2dly, That *Mr. Flesselles* was murdered on the day of the taking of the Bastille. But a fact little known is, that the minutes of this resolution, as also the minutes of all the transactions that took place at the town-hall during the first year of the revolution, were not compiled till the second year, by a man of the name of *Verrier*, and by orders of *La Fayette*, who, notwithstanding many observations made on the subject, would not allow any change to be made in what had been inserted by his orders, and would have been particularly grieved to see the real origin of that National Guard made public, in the command of which he so much gloried.
7. See the Sitting of the 5th October, 1789.
8. See the juridical deposition of witnesses, 157, 226, 230, and 373.
9. See her letter of the 5th October, 1789.
10. The 6th of October 1789 was the last day of the French Monarchy.—Should it ever rise again, let a monument be erected in memory of those brave Knights who would have so gloriously contributed to save it, had not their courage been chained down by the commands of their King. May their names be at least preserved by the

historian! I could wish to insert the names of the sixty heroes who so well served the appellation of *Life-guards* on this awful occasion but I have only been able to obtain the following:

OFFICERS

Duke de Guiche, *Captain*
 Marquis de Savonnière, *Chef de Brigade*
 Vicomte D'Agoult

Vicomte de Sesmaisons
 Comte de Mauleon
 Chev. Dampierre
 —St. George

LIFE GUARDS

Messrs. de Berard, *two Brothers*
 Chev. de Huilliers
 Marquis de Varicourt, *killed*
 Chev. Deshutes, *killed*
 —de Miomandre
 Baron Durepaire
 —Demiers
 —Moucheron
 Chev. de la Tranchade

Chev. de Duret
 —de Valory
 Comte de Mouthier
 —Bernardy
 Messrs. Horric, *three Brothers*
 Messrs. Malderet, *three Brothers*
 Chev. Renaldy
 —de Lamotte
 —de Montaut
 —de Puget

11. Some of the brigands who were in constant pay for the purpose of these insurrections were retiring home between ten and eleven at night, and I heard them take leave of each other in the following terms: "It has gone on pretty well to-day; we shall expect you to-morrow.—What, to-morrow? at what o'clock?—at the opening of the assembly. *Where do we go for orders?* To Mirabeau's, Chapellier's, or Barnave's, as usual." I own that till I was present at this discourse I never could believe that those legislators had daily interviews with these brigands to fix the hour and object of such insurrections.
12. Let. 8th of Oct.
13. Decrees of October 25, Nov. 2, Dec. 19, 1789; and Feb. 13, 1790.
14. See the sittings of Apr. 10, Aug. 24, 1790; and Jan. 4, Apr. 4, May 30, Aug. 27, 1791.
15. Decrees Nov. 29, 1791, and Apr. 6, May 26, Aug. 26, 1792.
16. I am sorry to say it, but it is a fact that cannot be hidden; honest masons will shudder at it, but they must be informed of what monsters have issued from their Lodges. During the whole of the riots, whether at the Town-hall or at the Carmes, the real signs for rallying and fraternizing with the brigands were masonic. During the time of the butchery the murderers offered the masonic grip to the standers-by, and fraternized with or drove them off according as they answered or misapprehended it. I myself saw a man of the lowest rabble who explained to me how they had offered him their hands, and that not knowing how to answer the grip he was driven away with contempt, while others who were not strangers to the science were admitted in the midst of the carnage, with a smile. I am even acquainted with a clergyman, who by means of the signs of Masonry escaped from the brigands at the Town-hall. It is true, that had he not been disguised, his science would have been but of little avail; for no sooner were those same brigands informed that he was an ecclesiastic, than they pursued him. Neither could the science be of any service to the aristocratic brethren; and this preclusion will suffice to demonstrate to the ecclesiastic and

aristocratic members, that they were but the mere dupes of the occult Lodges of the fraternity.

17. The address of the 3d of Sept. 1792.

18. This is the exact statement of an account that I received from a gentleman who procured initiation into the mysteries of the present *Theophilanthropists* of Paris.

19. Decree Jan. 10, 1796.

20. Lest public documents should not be sufficiently explanatory of the conduct of La Fayette on this occasion, and as several persons have wished to persuade the public that he was perfectly ignorant of the intended flight of the king, I here publish a true statement of facts. A German woman, married to a Frenchman of the name of *Rochereuil*, was employed in the queen's service under the title of *Porte chaise d'affaires*. This woman had shown so much indignation, and had wept so bitterly on the 5th and 6th of October, that the queen, affected at seeing such proofs of attachment in this woman, entrusted her with the care of preparing her broth, and lodged her in a room on the ground-floor of her own apartment, which communicated to the apartment that had been occupied by the Duke of Villequier. In the beginning of June the queen, who began to prepare for her intended evasion, lodged this Mrs. Rochereuil in another room. She immediately harboured suspicions of some intended plan, and watched the king and queen. The great confidence they had had in her gave her the opportunity of knowing the whole scheme of the king's flight. On the 10th of June she informed Messrs. La Fayette and Gouvion of what she had observed, and lodged an information at the *Comité des Recherches* of the National Assembly. She had eleven conferences with them in the space of nine days. In consequence of these denunciations, M. de la Fayette charged thirteen officers on whom he could depend, to patrol every night within the interior of the Thuilleries, but with secret orders to favor the evasion. His orders had been given in a similar manner along the road. Drouet had been instructed in the part he was to act. The remaining part of that fatal journey to Varennes, and the arrestation of the king, may be all easily conceived, excepting that excess of insolence with which La Fayette used his victory, and the outrages he heaped on the unfortunate Lewis, when dragging him back to his prison of the Thuilleries.

Another anecdote that may surprize the reader is, that when the queen had been informed of the treacherous behaviour of this woman, Rochereuil, and had dismissed the traitor from her service, this wretch had the insolence to present a memorial, that a deputy had penned for her, to the queen, requesting that she might be admitted again into her service, and stating that in her opinion she could not have given her majesty a greater proof of her gratitude and fidelity than by depriving her of the possibility of hearkening to the evil councils of the royalists.—The queen gave the memorial to *Mr. Prieur*, the historiographer of France for the foreign department. The denunciation of this woman is carefully preserved in what are styled the National Archives.

21. Sittings of Aug. 10, 11, and 12, 1792.

22. Lewis XVI, was but a child when Sir Horace Walpole, (since Lord Orford,) after a short stay at Paris, wrote the following letter to Mareschal Conway on the views and plans of the Sophisters. It is dated Oct. 28, 1765.

“The Dauphin (Father to Lewis XVI) will probably hold out very few days. His death, that is, the near prospect of it, fills the *Philosophers* with the greatest joy, as it

was feared he would endeavour the restoration of the Jesuits. You will think the sentiments of the *Philosophers* old *state-news*—But do you know who the *Philosophers* are, or what the term means here? In the first place, it comprehends almost every body; and in the next means men, who, avowing war against popery, aim, many of them, at a *subversion of all religion, and still many more at the destruction of regal power*. How do you know this? you will say; you, who have been but six weeks in France, three of which you have been confined in your chamber. True; but in the first period I went every where, and heard nothing else; in the latter I have been extremely visited, and have had long and explicit conversations with many who think as I tell you, and with a few of the other side, who are no less persuaded that there are such intentions. In particular, I had two officers here the other night, neither of them young, whom I had difficulty to keep from a serious quarrel, and who, in the heat of the dispute, informed me of much more than I could have learned with great pains.” (*Vol. V.*)

23. See Mallet Du Pan’s *Considerations on the Nature of the Revolution*. P. 37.

24. See the *Memoirs of Mr. Bertrand*, Vol. III. Chap. XXII.

25. *Brisot’s Letter to the Jacobins*, October 24, 1792.

26. See *Louvet’s address to Robespierre*. Should the reader wish for any more of these avowals and vapourings of a multitude of adepts on the art with which they prepared the sanguinary scenes of that day, let them read *Robespierre’s Letter to his Constituents*; *Petion’s Observations on that Letter*; the *Annales Patriotiques*, by Carra and Mercier, 30th November 1792; the *Chronique de Paris* by Millin, and his threats on the 5th of August 1792, &c. &c.

27. See the *Moniteur*, *Sittings of January 2*, and following, 1793.

28. Another species of cruelty not mentioned is that which the cannibals of Nantes called *Des Mariages Patriotiques*. The reader will scarcely believe me when I tell him, that women were comprehended in these abominable butcheries. Nevertheless, as a refinement of cruelty, when any young royalist was supposed to have an attachment for any young woman, they were tied together hand and foot previous to their being thrown into the Loire, that they might pass in *Charon’s Bark together*, or they would tie some venerable old clergyman to a young woman, that he might be provided with a young wife in the next world. Such were their *Patriotic Marriages*; such the cruelties that must surprize the reader, were he not acquainted with the school whence they proceed. At Arras *Le Bon* would guillotine *by streets*; and one night returning home, a little drunk, he thought an execution by torch-light would have a *Patriotic effect*. The Count de Bethune, who had been brought to trial in the morning and *acquitted*, was immediately named as the victim; but *Le Bon* was informed that he had been tried and acquitted; no matter, we will try him again (says the Commissary); and the poor Count was condemned and executed because he was *soupçonné d’être suspect*. This, perhaps, is the most extraordinary crime on record, *suspected of being a suspicious character* for Aristocracy; nevertheless, many hundreds perished on the scaffold for this crime. *Trans.*

29. Report of the *Comité du Salut Publique*, August 8, 1795.

30. I leave to Mr. Mallet du Pan himself the task of revealing what he heard in that club, and the horror he conceived on the occasion. He may also inform the reader with what indignation he received the invitation of the *twenty-two* to become a member

of their club. But it was from the mouth of that justly celebrated author that I learned the answer which Syeyes made to his reproaches.

31. See Papers found at Robespierre's, and printed by order of the Convention, Nos. 43, 75, 89, 107, &c.
32. See the Papers seized at Babœuf's.
33. See the Degree of Regent.
34. I do not exactly remember the particular names of the Deputies who would hold forth such language at the tribune. I can affirm, however, that the sophisticated Legislator *Rabaud de St. Etienne* frequently held such language in company, which has more than once given rise to a good deal of debate. Once in particular, he and *Mr. Desilet*, a man of letters, almost quarrelled on the subject; and that was quite at the beginning of the Revolution.

CHAP. XIII.

Universality of the Success of the Sect explained by the Universality of its Plots.

OF all the phœnomena of the French Revolution, perhaps, the most astonishing, and, unfortunately, the most incontestable, is, the rapidity of those conquests that have already revolutionized a considerable part of Europe, and menace the remainder of the universe. Nothing can be more surprizing than to see the facility with which Jacobinism has erected its standards, or planted the tree of Equality and disorganizing Liberty in Savoy, Belgium, Holland, on the Banks of the Rhine, in Switzerland, on the other side of the Alps, in Piedmont, in the Milanois, and even at Rome. When I come to explain these phœnomena, I shall not allow myself to be carried away by system or by prejudice. I will confess, that genius, bravery, and talents, have frequently wrested the palm of victory. I candidly confess, that many of their triumphs are due to men who by their courage and talents were entitled to serve a better cause. I will not dispute their glory with them; let them entwine their laurels with the red cap; let their glory mingle with remorse at the sight of those vile Jacobins, and tyrannic Pentarques, in whose defence they have rivalled their ancestors, who shone in the days of Henry IV or Lewis XIV. Nevertheless, in the career of their conquests many points, and a large share of their successes, are to be attributed to other causes than to their valour. We have seen chiefs destitute of experience or merit baffling the wisdom and talents of heroes consummate in the military art. We have seen the Carmagnole Bands, soldiers of a day, make their triumphant entry into whole provinces, while all the discipline of the combined legions of Austria, Hungary, and Prussia, could not impede their progress. The military science acquired by those veteran bands in camps and under the tuition of the greatest captains appears to have been useless. In spite of the arts of a Cohorn or a Vauban, citadels have fallen at the sight of the new conquerors; and if a battle is sought, one only victory, or even a defeat, will acquire whole provinces to their new dominion, that would have cost long and painful campaigns to a Marlborough or a Turenne. Another prodigy presses on our notice. These Jacobin conquerors are received like brethren by the vanquished nations, and their legions are swoln in the very places where those of any other Power would dwindle into nothing. They impose the harshest of yokes on their new

subjects, are guilty of every species of extortion, devastation, and sacrilege, overturning all laws human and divine, yet are nevertheless received with as loud acclamations by the multitude, as if it was their Saviour that approached. These certainly are phenomena that the historian would in vain attempt to illustrate were he only acquainted with the visible armies of the Sect. To unfold these mysteries, let us boldly declare it; the Sect and its plots, its legions of secret emissaries, have every where preceded the armies and their thunderbolts of war. It had infested states with its principles long before it sent either its *Pichegrus* or *Buonapartes* to attack them. Its means once prepared, traitors were to be found in the fortresses to open the gates; they were to be found in the armies, and in the councils of Princes, to render the plans of attack or defence abortive. Its subterraneous Clubs, Lodges, Corresponding Societies, Journals, and Propagandists, had already disposed the populace and prepared the way. The day will come when nations shall have written the history of this age. Does it not already appear, that each of them will have to dedicate many pages of that history to unfold the treasons of which it has fallen a victim, to enumerate the traitors that it has been obliged to punish, or to describe the means employed to avert the threatening storm. In order to point out the mainspring of all these machinations, I shall turn back to those days when the French Revolution was first rising into existence.

The adepts of revolutionary Equality and Liberty had buried themselves in the Lodges of Masonry. At the commencement of the Revolution a manifesto is issued to *all the Masonic Lodges* and to all the *Directories* (who are to make the proper use of it among *all the brethren of Europe*), by the central Lodge of France, the *Grand Orient* of Paris, the second Areopage of Illuminism. By this manifesto, and in virtue of fraternity, "all the Lodges are summoned to *confederate together*, to unite their efforts to maintain the revolution; to gain over to it, in all parts, friends, partizans, and protectors; to propagate the flame, to vivify the spirit, to *excite zeal and ardor for it, in every state, and by every means in their power*." This is an indisputable fact; it was sent even into England, where the Lodges were the least disposed to second it. It was dispersed throughout the Lodges in Germany, and Joseph II got possession of one signed *Philip of Orleans*.¹

Never did any government publish an edict so efficacious. Immediately all the adepts in their public prints begin to cry up the revolution and its principles. In Holland *Paulus* publishes his *Treatise on Equality*; *Paine*, in England, his *Rights of Man*; *Campe*, in Germany, his *French Citizen*; and *Philoknigge* even outdoes himself in his *Profession of Political Faith*.² In Italy *Gorani* appears; in short, every nation has its apostle of Equality, Liberty, and Sovereignty of the People. These incendiary productions, with thousands of others, are distributed among the people, and are even thrown by stealth into the cottages. These were but the general means of the Sect. Men who despise the powers of opinion, or of public error, may smile at such revolutionary means, but great conspirators know too well how to appreciate them. The title of *French Citizen* now becomes their sole title of Nobility, and *Campe*,

Paine, and Cramer, with many others who distinguished themselves by their incendiary writings, are thus rewarded for their villany. Obscure writers, but fanatic Illuminees, are called from the bottom of Germany, such as *Nimis*, *Dorsch*, *Blau*, to compile in Paris periodical papers, that are to spread the revolutionary enthusiasm beyond the Rhine. They are surrounded by a *Leuchsenring*, a *Rebmann*, a *Hoffman*, with many other adepts, who flocked to contrive the treasons that were to extend their conquests in those countries where the other adepts were preparing the opinions. So well did they know the importance of being masters of the public opinion, that to conquer it by means of their Propagandists, Journalists, and other writers, they spent no less than *thirty millions of Livres* during the first year of their incursions and during 1797 they lavished *twenty-one millions* for the same purpose.³

Let us then follow the army, and combine its marches with the progress of the Sect and the motions of its apostles. Let us follow them into Germany, into Belgium, Holland, Spain, in short, wherever its arms have triumphed; and we shall then see whether the revolution does not owe the progress of its arms as much to the occult adepts, as to the courage of its victorious bands.

Of all the French Generals no one, perhaps, was more inflated with his successes than Custine; and certainly he had little reason to expect them, as he was destitute of those talents and that intrepidity which denote the great General. Nevertheless, Europe with astonishment beheld him in one campaign making himself master of Worms, Spire, and even Mayence. But when Europe shall know how these conquests were prepared, its astonishment will subside, and its indignation will arise against the treacherous offspring of *Spartacus-Weishaupt*.

Condorcet, Bonneville, and Fauchet, had marked out each department of correspondence for their propagandists. Strasbourg was the center, or directory for the union and communication between the German and French adepts. The Chiefs of Illuminized Lodges, *STAMM* and *Hyerophiles HERMANN*; who, together with the Illuminee *DIETRICH*, has justly obtained the surname of the *Guillotiner* of Alsace, had distinguished themselves in that province and at Strasbourg. Beyond the French frontiers, the corresponding adepts for Worms and Spire are the Calvinist minister *ENDEMAN*, the Syndic *Belisarius-PETERSON*, the Canon *Cyril (of Alexandria)* *SCHWEICKARD*, *Zeno (of Tharses)*, *KÖBLER*, *Lucius Apuleius-JANSON*, *Virgilius-HULLEN*, the Canon *WINCKLEMAN*, and particularly the Professor *BÖHMER* at Worms. These adepts are in close connection with the club at Mayence, headed by a man on whom the defence of the town was chiefly to depend, the Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers *EICKENMAYER*, together with *METTERNICH*, *BENZEL*, *KOLBORN*, *VEDEKIND*, *BLAU*, *HAUSER*, *FORSTER*, *HAUPT*, and *NIMIS*. It is with regret that I sully the pages of history with such names; but proofs are necessary, and perhaps no one more apposite can be adduced, than to show that the very names of the vilest traitors are known.⁴

Long before this had all these adepts been occupied with the plan of delivering up the left bank of the Rhine and the fortress of Mayence to the

jacobins; they had been disposing the minds of the inhabitants of the towns and country towards the revolution by the encomiums which they were continually pronouncing on it. No sooner does Custine take the field, than his Aid-de-Camp, since become his historian, describes him as placing all his confidence in *Stamm*, the famous adept of Strasbourg. Soon after a deputation of the principal Illuminees *invite Custine to advance into the country*, and assure him that by so doing *he will meet the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants*. They added, *that should he be uneasy as to the means of surmounting certain apparent difficulties, they could assure him, that they and their friends had power enough to engage to remove them all; that they were the organs of a numerous society entirely devoted to him and actuated by the greatest zeal for his success.*⁵ At the head of this deputation is the adept *Böhmer*, and, together with *Stamm*, he is entrusted with the whole confidence of the General. These adepts, in conjunction with the subordinate deputies, now take the whole direction of the jacobin army; they lead it into Worms, and propose next to carry it against Mayence. Custine is in a tremor at the idea of such an enterprize; the adepts insist, and he at length resolves to let his army proceed against this bulwark of the empire. But at the very sight of its ramparts his fears seize him again; the brethren sooth him, and dictate the summons that he is to send to General *Gimmich*. The answer he receives makes him prepare for his retreat even before he had thought of an attack, when, lo! during the night a letter from the brethren in Mayence to the adept *Böhmer* transforms his fears into hopes of success. This letter stated, that the *friend* who enjoyed all the confidence of the commander *was determined to employ all his influence to persuade him of the impossibility of defending the place*; that the brethren had so *worked upon the inhabitants*, that it would only need to add *a few more threats* in the next summons that was made. Faithful to his instructions, Custine assumes the tone of a conqueror, who has prepared a general assault, and is on the eve of delivering Mayence over to pillage and all the fury of the soldiery in case of resistance. The Illuminized *friend*, or the Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers *Eickenmayer*, who enjoyed the whole confidence of the Commander, and the Baron *Stein*, the Prussian Envoy, join in their efforts to prove to the Council of War that it was impossible to defend the place (and this against an enemy who had not the means to attack it, and who was actually determined to take flight should he meet with resistance). The other brethren spread the alarm among the inhabitants. The brave AUDUJAR and his eleven hundred Austrians are indignant, but in vain; the capitulation is signed, and Custine, with an army of 18,000 men, destitute of heavy artillery, trembling lest he should not be able to make his retreat with sufficient speed should he but meet with resistance, obtains possession, within the space of three days, and without firing a shot, of those very ramparts that had struck him with so much terror. In such a manner are towns taken in which the Sect predominates.⁶

Let the historian follow Custine and his successors to Francfort, and he will find in the neighbourhood of that town a principality of *Isenbourg*; he will there learn how the Sect can protect its adepts. Every part around this small

principality had been ravaged; but this little town was the seat of the Council for the Illuminees, where *Pitsch* presided. It was from this place that all the necessary instructions were sent for the jacobin army, which in return revered the sanctuary of Isenbourg, and even the lure of pillage could not attract the soldiery. But when *Pitsch* and his council disappear, the charm ceases, and the fertile plains of Isenbourg are ravaged.⁷

The armies are overthrown and driven from Mayence; but the union of the brotherhood does not suffer, and the Sect prepares new means of success for the revolutionary army. Some of these conspiring adepts disappear for a time, and then return to Mayence, while others are received at Paris, there, in conjunction with the Pentarques, to devise new means for retaking that town, which now appears to bid defiance to all the Custines of the revolution; and soon after Europe, with astonishment, learns that Mayence with the whole left bank of the Rhine is once more subjected to the revolutionary power. At first it is the Cis-Rhenane Republic, then it becomes a simple department of the Parisian Republic. But the adepts are to be recompensed for having effected by their black arts of Illuminism, that which the Pentarques must have despaired of, notwithstanding the bravery of their troops. The professor *Metternich* had been employed as Directorial Commissary at Fribourg. *Hoffman* is now installed Receiver General on the Rhine, with a salary of fifty thousand livres. *Rebmann*, the panegyrist of Robespierre, is created head of the Cis-Rhenane judicature. We next find acting in concert with the above-mentioned, the Privy Counsellor to the Elector of Cologne *Kempis*, and his co-illuminees the Professor *Gerhard*; the Advocate *Watterfal*, and the Artist *Conrad*; and that my reader may know by what men revolutions may be brought about, I will name the taylor *Brizen*, the cobler *Theissen*, the grocer *Flügel*, the hair-dresser *Broches*, and the alehousekeeper *Rhodius*.⁸

Other plots of the Sect will bring us back to Germany again; but in the mean time Dumourier triumphs over the stationary hero of Verdun, and flies to take possession of Belgium. Let eternal darkness hover round the machinations that gave this General more time to collect his scattered troops that was sufficient for a victorious army to proceed to Paris, and deliver the unfortunate Lewis. Let no reader pretend to associate the reigning Duke of Brunswick with the brotherhood of the modern *Spartacus*. I have positive proof that he detests them; I also know, that Frederic William III has given various proofs, notwithstanding he may have been played upon by another species of Illuminees, that he hated and abhorred the disorganizing jacobins. But his councils are under the direction of other councils. *Bischofswerder* was at Berlin; *Luchesini* held correspondences; the adepts are in the *Dicasteres* (the Offices). Their influence is most formidable, and the Sect has already declared, that it will be *far stronger when once in possession of the offices and councils under the Prince, than if they had initiated the Prince himself*. The day may come that will explain the enigma of this famous retreat made at the time when all Europe was at the height of expectation, and daily awaited the last accounts of its triumphs; meanwhile I shall proceed to unfold mysteries that, hitherto unknown, have

led us to view Dumourier as conquering Belgium in the fields of Jemappe. Here at least the laurels are to be divided, for the conspiring Sect has borne a larger share in this conquest than his armies; and it was in London, rather than at Jemappe, that the Austrian Netherlands were conquered.

The Sect had its Lodges in Brabant, and *Vandernoot* had brought over his party to them. He knew that the brethren sought to represent the French revolution in such colours as to make the people eager in its cause; he was also acquainted with those Lodges that had addressed the National Assembly, humbly petitioning for their revolutionary Equality and Liberty. *Vandernoot* was then in London, under the name of *Gobelscroix*. An emissary from the Parisian club, he was prosecuting his plots, together with *Chauvelin*, *Perigord D'Autun*, *Noel*, *Bomet*, and eight other adepts, sent to spread the revolutionary principles in England. *Vandernoot* entrusted himself to persons with whose principles he was not sufficiently acquainted; but they knew him well; he betrayed his secret, and thus the whole mystery is come to light. During the disputes, and even warfare, carried on between the Belgians and Joseph II, the greater part of them certainly had not the most distant idea of subjecting their country to the revolutionary principles of the Jacobins; but the sect had its partizans, and these adepts left no means untried to persuade the people that the sole resource for recovering their liberty was to unite with the French. "I was well acquainted with these plans (said Vandernoot to his confidant); no sooner were we informed of what had passed between the Duke of Brunswick and Dumourier, than we immediately wrote *to Paris and to the army*. The messenger brought us back the plan of the campaign, and a copy of the manifesto that Dumourier was to publish on his entry into the Low Countries. I saw that the plan had been exactly copied from that followed by Custine in his extortions in Germany. I foresaw that such a plan would appal all the efforts of our people, and would only serve to league the inhabitants against the French, whereas if they would but follow my ideas, derived from the knowledge I had of that people, and of their dispositions, I would answer for their seconding the French invasion, and that it would infallibly turn out successful. At the request of Chauvelin and Noel, I drew up the plan to be followed, and wrote the manifesto that was to be published, framing it according to the local knowledge and experience I had acquired; and the whole was immediately sent off to Paris. They were both adopted on the spot. Dumourier did not change a syllable of the manifesto that I had written in *Portman Square*. The people, gained over by our agents, and by this manifesto, threw themselves into our arms, and Flanders was taken."

No reader can expect that I should name the persons to whom Vandernoot had thus opened his plans; of this much, however, I can assure the public, that the whole was laid before the ministry, who for a time suffered Noel, Vandernoot, and their accomplices to remain in London, but keeping a close watch over them until they were sent elsewhere to conspire, and prosecute their vile machinations, against nations that they dared not meet in the open field.

Next to the conquest of Belgium came that of Holland; and with equal astonishment has Europe seen the formidable bulwarks of that republic falling at the approach of the Jacobin armies. Here again we must resort for the cause to the dark recesses of the Sect. The apostles of Illuminism had been labouring in Holland ever since the year 1781.⁹ The immense sums of money drawn from those countries were not the only successes of the Sect. The Stadtholder had already learned, to his cost, how much they could envenom faction and sedition; the French revolution then came to raise their expectations and stimulate their labours. The Low Countries had for a second time received their Jacobin conquerors. The English army fell back to the frontiers of its ancient ally to vindicate its liberties from the attempts of the enemy. Its efforts, however, are useless, for Holland no longer wills the liberty of the true patriot, it wills that of the Jacobin. Its wishes shall soon be complied with; the brethren of Paris shall dictate the law in Amsterdam, and shall seize on its riches; the commerce of Holland shall be annihilated; its colonies wrested from it; and soon shall it rank among the powers of Europe, only as the first slave of the Gallic Pentarques. No matter. Let Pichegru approach, for he is the object of their wishes; and the defenders of their true liberty may seek their safety in retreat; for the countries which they wish to defend are replete with plots against them and conspiracies in favour of the revolution. In Amsterdam alone the Sect has no less than forty clubs, and each club has the direction of two hundred revolutionists. The elect of these clubs form two committees, the central and the corresponding committees; and this latter holds correspondence with brethren both within and without the territories of the republic. These are subject to a supreme council, the true Areopagites, whose resolves are transmitted to the dispersed brethren. Persons who watched over the public welfare have acted the parts of associates in hopes of diving into the mysteries; but the scrutators at Amsterdam were as crafty as those of Munich, and these adepts could never penetrate beyond the first mysteries, while other clubs were composed of men well known by the Sect to be the firmest advocates for Jacobin Equality and Liberty.

Deputies from *Leyden* are delegated to the central committee; and the brotherhood at Leyden had made a great progress in proportion, both in numbers and sedition, than it had at Amsterdam. The adepts of *Utrecht* were still more ardent revolutionists than either. The vigilance of government, and the neighbourhood of the armies, had put them to flight; the chiefs, however, assembled together in country-houses, and their deliberations were transmitted to the Areopage at Amsterdam. *Rotterdam* appeared to be neuter; but it held a neutrality that only waited the propitious moment for declaring in favour of Jacobinism. The minister and adept *Mareux* had made the conquest of three fourths of the inhabitants of *Naarden*. The commissary *Aiglam* would have been restless had he known of a single inhabitant of *Haarlem* that was not devoted to the adepts of Amsterdam.¹⁰

The better to conduct the proceedings of the faction, the French convention had sent a secret agent of the name of *Malabar* to reside at

Amsterdam; he had two acolytes, called *l'Archevêque* and *Aiglam*. At once enjoying the confidence of Pichegru (then advancing with his victorious army) and of the rebels in the interior, Malabar never appeared but at the meetings of the Areopagites, where he dictated the resolves. *L'Archevêque* and *Fresine* were employed in carrying on the correspondence with Pichegru. In Amsterdam and Haarlem *Aiglam* was inspector-general of the subterraneous arsenals whither the brethren were to flock for arms on the signal given. Should they stand in need of the protection of the magistracy, the adept *Dedelle* was burgomaster. If funds were wanting, the counting-houses of *Texier*, *Coudere*, and *Rottereau*, are open to them, beside the treasure of the Jew *Sportas*, a most vehement revolutionist. Among the clubists the adepts *Gulcher* and *Lapeau* distinguish themselves, as do *Latour* and *Perisse* among their armourers. Next in quest of enthusiasts who shall declaim to the populace, we meet the adepts *Termache*, *Lekain*, *Müllner*, *Schneider*, and many others. On their general roll-call they count 40,000 men ready to march out to meet the advancing Jacobins, or to charge in the rear the armies of the allies, and those legions that might still remain faithful to their duty. Nothing new was wanting but a general capable of directing their march; and *Eustace* was sent from Paris.—On a sudden the vigilance of the English minister and of the Duke of York seemed to have counteracted this conspiracy, that had been so well concerted; and the government was informed of the whole plot. *Malabar*, the hero of the mysteries, *La Tour*, *Fresine*, and about thirty more conspirators, were arrested; even *Eustace* was among the prisoners, and all true citizens thought themselves delivered from the Jacobin scourge. Proclamations were issued, forbidding any meetings of clubs under any pretext whatever; but, in defiance of the magistrates, the clubists publish a counter-proclamation, inviting the brethren to take arms, and rather to die than abandon their clubs. In vain does the English general demand that these persons should be delivered up to him, that he might secure their persons; the Sect even succeeded in getting the American minister to reclaim *Eustace*, under pretence that he was a subject of the United States. The others are brought to trial, and are condemned to be exiled into those very towns by which the Jacobin army was to enter the republic, and Willemstadt, Breda, Bergenopzoom, Nimeguen, Gorcum, Utrecht, and Amsterdam, fall, just as Mayence had done before them. Most certainly, had Pichegru no other claims to military glory than this conquest, he might, with Dumourier and Custine, write, "*I came, I saw, I conquered*"; but it was because, in place of enemies to combat, I found none but adepts to embrace."¹¹

Means of another species will explain the triumphs of the Sect in Spain. The brave RICARDO had restored the Castilians to their ancient valour; he had threatened to retaliate on the captive Jacobins, for the cruelties exercised on the French emigrants that fell into their hands. The *Aqua Tophana* immediately liberates the Sect from so fierce an enemy; he dies by poison. The bulwarks of Spain fall like those of Holland at the approach of the legions of *Equality and Liberty*. REDDELEON sells the fortress of *Figueras* for a million of livres. He

values his treason too highly, and going to Paris he receives his million in assignats, then only worth 48,000 livres. He complains, and in compensation is sent to the guillotine, for the Sect need not buy traitors at so exorbitant a price. His treachery, however, left Spain at the discretion of the Jacobins. That unhappy country sought to buy peace, and for a time it is suffered to enjoy a truce; but every thing seems to denote, that the brethren have made a sufficient progress to leave the task of establishing the reign of Equality and Liberty to the adepts of the interior, without resorting to arms.

In Portugal the adepts dare not as yet throw off the mask; but at some future day the Court may judge proper to publish the correspondence found among the papers of the Brabanter *Segre*. This propagandist had been thrown into the prisons of Lisbon. The brethren had not forgotten the doctrine of the *patet exitus*; they send a mattress to the prisoner, and a razor is concealed within it. The wretched *Segre* understands the meaning of the Sect, and the next morning is found weltering in his blood on this very mattress.

It transpired, however, that the conspiracy in which he had engaged aimed at nothing less than the destruction of the royal family, and the total overthrow of the state. It was further asserted, that a correspondence between him and the *Prince of Peace* was found among his papers, and that the Spanish minister, informed of his arrest, immediately claimed it; but the court of Portugal returned for answer, "That since God had in his goodness preserved the state from the greatest misfortune with which it had ever been threatened, her Most Faithful Majesty would only treat of this business with his Catholic Majesty himself." But even should this fact be well authenticated, are we not sufficiently aware of the intrigues of the Sect? Does it not frequently procure secret commissions from ministers, and then, under pretence of transacting the business of that state, prosecute the most villanous plots? It is sufficient for us to have shown the Sect conspiring in Portugal; the public papers describe it as conspiring in like manner at Turin and at Naples.

Here again the secrecy of courts has debarred us from the details. At Naples attestations were taken respecting the guilty, and the proofs were acquired. By the orders of his Majesty, all the documents relating to the 774 conspiracy had been collected and compiled by a magistrate of great merit and known integrity, Mr. REY, the same person whom Lewis XVI had intended for minister of the police of Paris. From these it appeared, that many noblemen had been led to join in a conspiracy against the royal family, while the occult adepts of this conspiracy were to make away with these same noblemen, immediately after the destruction of the royal family. The King and the Queen of Naples both chose to show their clemency to the chief conspirators, and rather let them preserve life in confinement, than send them to the scaffold, which must have been the inevitable consequence of a public trial. The policy that has buried in darkness the details of this conspiracy, has not, however, deprived us of this proof of the universality of the conspiracies of the Sect.

In pursuit of its plans, the Sect marches triumphantly to Milan, Venice, and Rome. Its armies entered Italy with Buonaparte, even more destitute of every thing that can ensure victory, than those which had entered Germany under the command of Custine. But numerous legions flocked to their standards; and the banks of the Po, if we except Mantua, are as well prepared for the revolution as were those of the Rhine. This will cease to be a matter of surprise to those who will reflect that Weishaupt had sent his apostles thither, and that Knigge and Zimmerman had long since boasted of the progress of the illuminizing recruiters in those parts. If we turn back to their reports, we shall find that the Masonic Lodges had, like those of Germany, been initiated into the last mysteries; and the triumphs of Buonaparte will be found to be not more astonishing than those of Custine. Were it necessary to explain how the valour of the Archduke Charles, or of the veteran bands of Austria, was rendered fruitless when in presence of the Jacobin troops; whence it arose that the fastnesses of countries could scarcely serve the wisdom of a prince so worthy of being the leader of heroes; it would not be sufficient to say, that the adjutant-general *Fisher* was accused of having received one thousand pounds a month from the Pentarques; or that, to stifle all prosecution, and baffle any attempt tht might be made to induce him to discover the number or quality of his accomplices, he had recourse to that grand means of Illuminism, the *Patet exitus*, and poisoned himself. No; the reader must reflect, that the Sect had long since been educating its adepts for the armies, procuring possession of the *Dicasteres*, and thus preparing for a future day, when they foresaw that treachery and cowardice would serve them in the armies of princes.¹²

Need we explain why the revolutionary legions proceeded to Rome? Certainly but little resistance could be made there. An aged pontiff raising up his hands to heaven, offering up his prayers for the peace and welfare of the faithful, makes every sacrifice, that of his faith excepted, in hopes of mollifying the obdurate hearts of those barbarians. Buonaparte, no stranger to his virtues, feigns a veneration for them. But Pius VI is the chief of that religion of Christ which the Sect has sworn to crush, and Rome is the centre of it.¹³ From the very first moment of the revolution the adepts had made no secret of their hatred against Rome and its pontiff. I was present when Cerrutti insolently accosted the Secretary of the Nuncio at Paris, saying with a sneer, "Take good care of your Pope; take good care of this one, and embalm him after his death; for I tell you, and you may be certain of the fact, that you will never have another." This pretender to prophecy little thought that he would be the first of the two to appear before the tribunal of that God who had promised that the gates of hell should never prevail against his church. But the Knights-*Kadosch*, who had sworn the death of kings and of the chief Pontiffs, still survived; as also that multitude of adepts who had long since been smoothing the way for legions of Impiety. Long since had Rome been the object of their conspiracies; adepts of every species flock thither; and, in spite of every authority, the pupils of Cagliostro open their Masonic Lodges in that capital.

The Illuminees of Sweden, Avignon, and Lyons, there unite in the most secret and most monstrous of Lodges, and form the most terrible tribunal for Kings; that, in short, which pointed out the Sovereign that was to fall, named the assassin, prepared the poisons, or sharpened the dagger.¹⁴

Many of Weishaupt's adepts were also to be found in Rome, who had been initiated by Zimmerman; and the representative of a King seconds their efforts against the altar. The Spanish Monarch is tottering on his throne, at the very time when the public papers describe DOM AZARA, his ambassador at Rome, felicitating the jacobins on their coming to drive the Sovereign Pontiff from his capital. Buonaparte may send his Lieutenants; their triumph will be easy, for shame alone could impede their progress; but they have stifled every feeling, and scoff at the very idea of the rights of nations, as well as at the overwhelming with affliction an aged pastor turned of fourscore. The upright man and compassionate heart might shed tears at such a sight; but the Jacobin, callous to every feeling, will leap with joy, and the Pentarques will compare their ignominious conquest to the storming of ancient Rome by Brennus and his Gauls. Next in the series we shall turn our eyes to a conquest long since announced in the Lodges of the Templars, Rosicrucians and Knights Kadosch, who had all sworn vengeance against Malta; and the fatal day is now come.

Lest indignation might cause their secrets to be discovered, the cross of Malta had for a long time been a badge of exclusion for those bold Knights from the threshold of the Masonic Lodges. New arts will be now employed to render their courage useless. The adepts have made use of the same artifice against Malta which they had employed against the church. So far, said they, from breaking off all connection with these Knights, let our adepts become members of the Order; through their means we shall become masters of that island that would proudly bid defiance to our combined hostile efforts both by sea and land. Letters from the virtuous and honourable part of that community had already prepared us for the catastrophe that has since befallen them; they had complained that false brethren, particularly of the Spanish and Italian tongues, had gained admittance among them. In the persons of *Dolomieu*, *Bosredon*, and the cowardly *Hompesch*, may the Sect be said to have reigned. Buonaparte appears; and, as if the Sect wished to shew Europe how it can carry the most astonishing works of nature and art by treason alone, it did not even give the conspirators a cloak for their treachery by the semblance of a siege. The adepts of the exterior fraternize with those of the interior, and thus do we learn that the secret arms of the Sect are more terrible than the fire of the embattled legions. Let the hero of Malta set sail for Alexandria: There he will also find adepts that await his arrival: Then will the Sublime Porte learn how to value those rich presents sent by the revolutionary tribe, all stolen from the royal treasury of the crown; it will understand why such immense sums of money were squandered in its capital, to buy the neutrality of the Divan, and thus to enable the Sect to wrest from its dominion its more distant provinces: It will learn, that the Apostles of the Sect were, during its political lethargy, stealing along the coasts of Africa, and penetrating even into Asia.

It was at Constantinople particularly that the Sect was to be careful in the choice of its adepts and propagandists, and to adapt each person's mission to his talents. To spread the doctrines of Equality and Liberty throughout the states that had long since been subjected to the dominion of the Crescent, it was necessary to find men well acquainted with the language, manners, interests, and the various intercourse of those different nations. In the person of the author of the *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, or *Mouradgæa d'Hobson*, a Greek by birth, formerly internuncio, and since ambassador from Sweden to the Sublime Porte, the Sect found all the requisites for such an undertaking. At first, he did not appear to be sanguine in their cause; large sums of money, and pensions then at the disposition of the *Committee of Public Safety* (as we are informed by our Memoirs) at length dispel any further shew of reluctance: On his return to Constantinople, Mouradgæa places himself at the head of the Jacobin missionaries for the East. He was greatly indebted for the acquirements that had thus prepared him for his new revolutionary career to a Mr. *Ruffin*, who commenced his career as a teacher of languages in Paris; was afterwards an associate with the Baron Tott in Crimea; then attached to the French embassy at Constantinople; afterwards employed in the Admiralty at Versailles; and finally became Professor of the Oriental Tongues at the *College Royal*. For a long time Mr. Ruffin resisted every temptation to betray the Royal cause; for he was indebted to the king for his education, and for his elevation to be Knight of the Order of St. Michael. Similar inducements, however, make him forget his obligations to his king, and he becomes the co-adept of Mouradgæa at Constantinople. *Lesseps*, a young man, and one of the few survivors of La Perouse, was also animated by sentiments of gratitude for Lewis XVI; but, seduced by the two apostles, he joins them, and, under the direction of this triumvirate, one part of the subaltern agents disseminate their doctrines among the people of Constantinople, while others spread themselves throughout Asia, travel into Persia, and to the Indies. Others again preach their rights of man in the Levant, while the united forces of the Sect make their descent on the coast of Egypt, and teach the Ottoman Court the fatal effects of having neglected to crush the first dawns of the Sect.

But a very few years prior to the French revolution, the Turks abominated Masonry, as much as the inhabitants of the East did the Manichæans for many centuries. The Ottoman court would not have suffered any French Religious to have remained at Jerusalem, had it not known that it was their constant rule to refuse to admit any person known to be a *Freemason* to visit the holy places that were under their care. There was even an agreement between the Sublime Porte and the Court of France, by which the Superior of these Religious might and was obliged to dismiss from the Levant any French Consul that should dare to erect a Masonic Lodge; and I have learned from a Religious who was on that mission for seven years, that the Superior had sometimes exercised this authority. But the revolution has annihilated such precautions, as well as many others. The Propagandists have crossed the Mediterranean with their new-fangled doctrines; they have found brethren in

the French merchants, who, under pretence of meeting with friends in all countries, had got themselves initiated in the mysteries, and hence they needed not Lodges to be recognized.

The successes of the brotherhood in France inflamed the zeal of the brethren in Africa; and the very manner in which the Directory announced the progress of Buonaparte in Egypt sufficiently denotes the arts that had been employed by the emissaries of the Sect previous to his arrival. Should he not (like Pichegru) fall a victim to the jealousy of the Pentarques, or (more lucky than Brueys) escape the pursuits of a second Nelson, he will on the coasts of India meet with other brethren, who in the Malabar tongue are circulating the *Rights of Man, Equal and Free*, and those of the *Sovereign and Legislative People*. The English General who took Pondicherry seized both the types and the presses employed in disseminating the principles of the Sect and their revolutionary productions.

As the plague flies on the wings of the wind, so do their triumphant legions infect America. Their apostles have infused their principles into the submissive and laborious negroes; and St. Domingo and Guadaloupe have been converted into vast charnel houses for their inhabitants. So numerous were the brethren in North America, that Philadelphia and Boston trembled, lest their *rising constitution should be obliged to make way for that of the great club*; and if for a time the brotherhood has been obliged to shrink back into their hiding places, they are still sufficiently numerous to raise collections and transmit them to the insurgents of Ireland; thus contributing toward that species of revolution which is the object of their ardent wishes in America.¹⁵ God grant that the United States may not learn to their cost, that Republics are equally menaced with Monarchies; and that the immensity of the ocean is but a feeble barrier against the universal conspiracy of the Sect!

The triumphs of the brotherhood at Geneva, at Venice, in Holland, and at Genoa, are demonstrative proofs that it is not at Monarchs alone that the adepts of the Sect aim their blows. Nations must also learn, that, whether Monarchies or Republics, they are all to be comprehended within the revolutionary vortex; and that neither friendship, alliance, nor the most passive obedience, can make the savage conspirators relent.

In vain did the Swiss Cantons in some sort forget the dignity of their ancestors; they were silent under the humiliating treatment of their brethren at Aix, the butchery of their troops at Paris, and the violation of the most sacred treaties even on their own territories. They bore with resignation the insults perpetually offered to them by the Jacobin dictators, who would sometimes deign to mingle assurances of fraternity and promises of peace with their outrages. While the armies of the Sect were ravaging the neighbouring countries, it would lull the credulous Swiss into a fatal security by their cant of fraternity and affection; but in the mean time the adepts were labouring in the mountains. Weishaupt had made many converts in those parts; and a swarm of Illuminees flocked thither from the *University of Gottingen*, all ready to prosecute the views of the Sect. *Fehr*, curate of Nidau, and after him *Bugg*,

corresponded with the brotherhood in Germany; and the moment was approaching when he was about to receive the price of his zeal by being elected chief of the revolutionized Canton of Argau.¹⁶ At Lucern *Pfiffer*, at Bern *Weiss*, at Basle *Ochs*, presided over the clubs of Equality and Liberty. By various artifices, the Jacobins had formed a party of ninety-two in the great council of Berne. The Pentarque Rewbel sent as auxiliaries from Paris, *Maingaud*, *Mangourit*, and *Guyot*; and in Switzerland (as in Holland and at Mayence) secret correspondence and secret societies were preparing the way for the armies of the Sect. Thus was the fate of Switzerland to be similar and an equal share of glory to redound to the victors.¹⁷

Yet there are monarchies still in existence, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Sect. True; but, if we except Denmark, whose neutrality appears to be of too great service to the Sect, for it to think of destroying that kingdom at present, what other country is there in Europe that has not been exposed to the machinations of the Sect? Gustavus III fell beneath the blows of an Ankarstroem; but this assassin had come from the great Parisian club. Those very persons who wish to isolate this murder tell us, that adepts had declared, that *they knew of the projected murder of Gustavus beforehand, and that all Europe knew of it*. Who are these men that were so well informed throughout Europe, if not those adepts to whom the Sect had made known their determinations against a Prince whose activity could give them little hopes of retrograde movements when he was about to fight the enemies of monarchy? When those same writers cast suspicions on the Duke of *Sudermania*, they ground their attack on his being *Grand Master of the Swedish Lodges*, as Orleans was in France. They further substantiate their charge on the multitude of illuminized Masons that are spread all over Sweden, and on the horror of their mysteries. Is not that telling us, that Ankarstroem was but a mere instrument of the Sect, which, in recompence for his regicide, erected statues to him in the Club of the Jacobins? I will hereafter show that the adepts had previous knowledge of this foul deed, and that it had even been clearly expressed in the public papers. But at present let us turn our eyes toward Russia.

On the death of Lewis XVI the Empress of Russia ordered that all the French within her dominions should take the oath of fidelity to the lawful heir of the Bourbons, and renounce all connection with France until monarchy was restored; but this was a fruitless precaution. The Sect had many adepts in Russia, whom it had taught to scoff at oaths;¹⁸ and they only took the oath of fidelity to the monarchy, that they might the more easily annihilate the Russian diadem. The conspirators were headed by *Genet*, heretofore the agent for the cabinet of Versailles, but now become the agent of the Jacobins. The zeal with which he served his new masters had already filled Petersburg with clubs composed of that species of men who, having no homes in their own country, travel to foreign parts in hopes of gaining a livelihood. Hair-dressers, Cooks, Valets, Bankrupts, Teachers of the French Tongue, and Street-porters from Paris, all were combining together to prepare a pike-revolution. The most artful and most violent of the conspirators daringly held their meetings

in the Hotel of Sir Charles Whitworth, the English Ambassador at Petersburg. They met there once a month by means of three French servants, who had been recommended to Sir Charles by some of the party as most excellent characters. Public fame, and soon after the Ambassador, informed the Police of this meeting. On making enquiries after the adepts, and on seizing their papers that had been carefully hidden, it was discovered, that their plot had been contrived according to the general plan and views of the Sect. At Rome, the brotherhood had made use of an Ambassador of the King of Spain; in Russia, it is the Secretary of Embassy and *Chargé d'Affaires* from the Court of Sardinia, a Mr. Bossi, who is implicated in their foul projects. The adepts were banished, according to the laws of Russia. The diplomatic character of Mr. Bossi saved him for some time from a similar disgrace; but no sooner was the Czar Paul seated on the throne, than he received orders to quit Petersburg in twenty-four hours, and the territories of his Imperial Majesty with all possible speed.¹⁹

I shall not dwell long on the labours of the Sect in Poland. Among the numbers of its apostles, I might name *Bonneau*, who was sent to Siberia; *Duveyrier*, who wrote the *Proces Verbaux* at Paris for La Fayette, and who was discovered at Copenhagen on a supposed mission for buying corn, while his real object was to visit the brethren of Poland and Russia, to stimulate them; and our Memoirs inform us, that on the road he was to make an attempt on the life of the Count Artois, just as the German adepts have since done on that of Lewis XVIII. Duveyrier was accompanied by one *Lamarre*, and that *Castella* since arrested in company with *Semonville* when proceeding to Constantinople with the plunder of the French crown, in hopes of bribing the ministers of this country. But to give my reader an idea of the multitude of missionaries employed by the Sect in Poland, it will suffice to advert to *Cambon's* report, where he owns that it has already cost France *sixty millions* of livres to support the brethren at Warsaw. This avowal shows how this Sect employs the public revenues, little caring whether the creditors of the interior are paid, and sending its visible legions to live on contributions levied on the exterior, while it largely pays that crowd of invisible adepts and secret emissaries who prepare the way for its triumphs.

This also demonstrates what great stress the leaders of the Sect laid on the projected revolution in Poland; and, indeed, had they succeeded in revolutionizing that country, the Jacobins might have made a strong diversion on the very territories of the most formidable powers that had entered into the coalition. Equality and Liberty would have infused itself throughout Russia with much greater facility. The Prussian and Austrian brethren began to show themselves more openly. Their hopes already seemed to be crowned with success; Kosciusko had excited to revolt Warsaw, Wilna, and Lublin. The bishop of this latter place, with many other gentlemen, had been hanged; in vain had the unfortunate Poniatowski endeavoured to allay the ferocity of the revolution; Poland was advancing rapidly towards its end, and it finished by losing both its king and its independence. My object is not even to hint an

opinion on the conduct of the powers who have divided that country among themselves, but, to point out the universal conspiracy of the Sect. Germany, which gave birth to the most profound adepts of the Sect, has already severely felt the effects of its treachery, but has not yet met the fate which the Sect is preparing for it.

Joseph II lived long enough to deplore his miserable policy. He was lamenting his philosophism, and that detestable policy that had induced him to trouble the inhabitants of the low countries in the enjoyment of their religion, thus breaking the most solemn treaties and driving to despair subjects who deserved a better fate, when the manifesto of the *Grand Orient* came to teach him, that his policy had been just as erroneous in protecting the Masonic Lodges. If credit is to be given to *Kleiner's Report*, or at least to the extract from it given me by a nobleman of undoubted veracity, it was in consequence of this manifesto that Joseph II gave orders to *Kleiner* to get himself initiated into the illuminized Lodges, and by this means acquired certain knowledge of the Occult Mysteries of the Sect. He then learnt, that the Swedish adepts had precisely the same object in view as the offspring of the modern *Spartacus*; and the Masonic Lodges were the cloaks for both of them. I have learned from a person who was frequently in company with the Emperor, that nothing could equal his vexation, when he saw that he had been so strangely imposed upon by men whom he had favoured, or when he discovered that, *so far from having himself named persons to the different charges of the State, he had only adopted the choices made by the Sect.* He then openly declared, that the Freemasons were nothing more than a set of sharpers and jugglers; he went so far as to attribute all the thefts that had been committed on the treasury of the state to the Occult Masons; he determined to exclude them from every employment civil and military; he was indignant at seeing an *imperium in imperio* rising in the state. He would have followed up his indignation too, had he not learnt that many of his most faithful subjects, and some even for whom he had the greatest regard, such as the Prince *Lichtenstein*, were Masons. The greater part of these, however, renounced Masonry. Joseph had undertaken to destroy the Lodges and repair the errors of philosophism, when a premature death put a period to his reign.

Leopold his successor, wishing to be informed of the nature and progress of the Sect in his territories, applied to Professor Hoffman. No man was better able than he was to give the desired information, for he had been tampered with by the Sect, who, writing to him in the most highflown phrases, endeavoured to seduce him over to the cause of the revolution; but, on the other side, several Masons, *ashamed of having fallen a prey to the seduction of the Illuminees, had discovered most important secrets to him*, and joined with him in baffling the views of the Sect. He had learned from them, "that Mirabeau himself had declared to his confidants, *that he carried on a most extensive correspondence with Germany, but in no part so extensive as at Vienna.* He knew that the revolutionary system was to be extended throughout the universe; that France had only been chosen as the scene of a first explosion. That the

propagandists were busied in disseminating their principles throughout every climate; that emissaries were dispersed through the four quarters of the globe, and particularly in the capitals; and that they had their adherents, and were particularly active in strengthening their party at Vienna and in the Austrian dominions.—In 1791 he had read, as several other persons also did, two letters, the one from Paris, the other from Strasbourg; describing in cypher the names of seven commissaries of the Propaganda then resident at Vienna, and to whom the new commissaries were to apply, as well for the wages of their labours, as for instructions how to proceed.—He had also seen several of those manuscript news-papers that were sent weekly from Vienna, replete with the most abominable anecdotes against the court, and with arguments and principles impugning the government.—These papers were to contribute toward the dissemination of Jacobinism throughout the towns and villages of the empire, and even in foreign countries, as they were sent post-free and without even the subscription being asked for. He had even transmitted some of these letters to government.—He had discovered the object of the frequent journeys of the Illuminee Camp to Paris, and his correspondence with Mirabeau and Orleans. He had acquired *certain knowledge* of the plans of the German Mirabeau," that is to say, of Mauvillon, who had been Mirabeau's Insinuator, and the same person who had written thus to the Illuminee Cuhn (the letter is preserved in the archives at Brunswick): "*The affairs of the revolution go on better and better in France; I hope that in a few years this flame will be lit up every where, and that the conflagration will become universal. THEN OUR ORDER may do great things*"²⁰ Mr. Hoffman also knew that this very Mauvillon "had drawn up a very explicit plan for the revolutionizing of all Germany; that this plan had been transmitted to the greater part of the Masonic Lodges, and to the clubs of the Illuminees; and that it was circulated among the Propagandists and emissaries, who were already employed in exciting to revolt the people on the outposts and frontiers of Germany."²¹ While this zealous citizen was thus unfolding to Leopold the intrigues of the Sect, he corresponded with the Great ZIMMERMAN of Bern, who was ever revered by the learned, beloved by all good citizens, and only hated by the illuminizing Jacobins, because he no sooner became acquainted with their mysteries than he warned the Society of their dangerous tendency. This learned man was also employed in composing a memorial for the use of the emperor, on the means of curbing the progress of the revolution;²² but the Jacobins were aware of the hatred that Leopold had conceived for them. They knew that the chief instigator of the treaty of Pilnitz was a much to be feared as Gustavus; and they were determined to show that even an Emperor should not oppose their plots with impunity.²³

Just at the time when the two sovereigns were making their preparations, the King of Prussia had recalled from Vienna his ambassador, the *Baron Jacobi Kloest*, who, as the Sect supposed, was favourable to their cause. The *Count Haugwitz*, who was more decidedly a friend to the measure of the treaty, was sent in his stead. The journalists of Strasbourg announced this news with the following comment: "Hence politicians pretend, that the union between the

two courts will be consolidated. They are certainly in the right to make the French believe so; but in despotic countries, in *those countries where the fate of several millions of men hangs on a bit of paste, or on the rupture of a little vein, one can calculate on nothing*. Let us suppose that the court of Prussia is acting honestly in concert with the court of Austria (which is difficult to be believed), or that the court of Austria is acting so with that of Prussia (which is still more incredible), *a single indigestion, or a drop of blood forced from its proper vessels, will be sufficient to dissolve this brilliant union.*" This comment in the *Courier of Strasbourg*, No. 53, was dated from Vienna, the 26th of February 1792. Leopold died (poisoned) on the *first of March* following, and Gustavus was assassinated in the night between the 15th and 16th of the same month.²⁴

The first precaution taken by his young successor was to dismiss all the Italian cooks, that he might not be exposed to the same fate as his father, and fall a victim to what is called the *Naples broth*. More zealous in the cause, Francis II not only opposed the Sect by force of arms, but, in order to attack Illuminism in its dark recesses, he applied to the Diet of Ratisbon in 1794, for a decree to suppress all secret societies, whether Masons, Rosicrucians, or Illuminees, of every sort. They had powerful supporters in this first council of the Empire, and they intrigued against the proposition of the Emperor. They pretended that these bodies of Illuminees were nothing more than little associations of school-boys, that they were very common in Protestant universities.—Through the organs of the Prussian, Hanoverian, and Brunswick ministers it was objected, that the Emperor was at liberty to forbid these different lodges within his own states; but that, with respect to all others, they could not attempt to curtail the Germanic liberty. All that the Emperor could obtain was a decree for the abolition of those associations of school-boys. This decree not only left the great adepts in full possession of their lodges, but was also unattended to in most of the colleges, where Illuminism continued to make the most awful progress.²⁵

While the young Emperor was thus endeavouring to counteract the plots of the Sect, it was conspiring in the very heart of the Austrian states to overturn the government. By the death of the *Chevalier de Born* the Sect had lost at Vienna one of its chief adepts; this gentleman was powerfully rich, yet at his death nothing but immense debts appeared, in consequence of the sums he had spent on the Propagandists. Two other adepts, as zealous at the least, and far more enterprising, had succeeded him. HEBENSTREIT, the *Lieutenant de place* at Vienna, was one; and the other was MEHALOVICH, an ex-capuchin of Croatia, whom Joseph II had imprudently taken from the cloisters and had given him a living in Hungary, in recompence for the dispositions he had shown to second the Emperor in his pretended reforms in the church. A number of other adepts had joined these two conspirators, among whom we may distinguish the Captain *Billek*, mathematical professor at the Academy of Neustadt, the Lieutenant *Riedel*, the professor of philosophy *Brandstätter*, the stupid but rich merchant *Hackel*, and finally *Wolfstein*, one of those adepts whom the sect had contrived to send on a revolutionary mission throughout

Europe at the Emperor's expence, under pretence of acquiring knowlege in the veterinary art, of which he has since been created professor.

The reader may judge of the number and importance of the conspirators by the plan that was agreed upon in 1795. Through their influence at court, they found means of forming a garrison in Vienna of substantial and honest citizens little accustomed to bear arms. They had selected them from this class, and had got an order to compel them into this sort of duty, under pretence of the imminent danger of the State. Always pretending they had the orders of the Emperor, they treated these new-raised corps with unheard-of severity, in hopes of indisposing them against the Court by the time that their revolutionary plots should be ready for execution. The populace was in their hands, and daily became more attached to their cause, in consequence of their being excluded from the new-raised corps, and by making them partake of the large sums distributed among a banditti who were to be put in possession of the arsenal on the day of insurrection. On that day the insurrection was to be general, during which *Hebenstreit*, followed by a banditti, was to secure the person of the Emperor; other detachments of the banditti were to take possession of the arsenal, and post themselves on the ramparts. The person of the Emperor being in their hands, the conspirators were to oblige him to sign *the Code of the Rights of Man*; that is to say, certain edicts ready prepared, by which the rights of all nobility and great proprietors were to be annulled; all were to be declared equal and free; and the sovereignty of the people proclaimed. These edicts were to be sent into the Provinces in the name of the Emperor, just as if he had enjoyed his liberty. Every outward appearance of respect for his person was to be preserved; in short, he was to have been treated just as the gaoler La Fayette had treated the unfortunate Lewis XVI. It is not known, whether the *Aqua Tophana* was to be administered in such a dose as to *kill*, or to *stupidify*; it even appears, that the young prince was to be kept as a hostage; but in all cases, he was only to be restored to his freedom after the people had been well accustomed to the new reign of Equality and Liberty, and had acquired possession of the estates of the Nobility in such a manner that all restitution of property, or revival of the ancient constitution, would be rendered impossible. All the preparatory steps had been taken; the Catechisms of the Rights of Man, and the most incendiary performances, had been profusely dispersed in the villages and cottages. Female adepts in the style of the adepts Necker and Stael made their appearance. The Countess of *Marchowich* distinguished herself by the zeal she showed in distributing the new Catechism. The fatal day was drawing near when a most singular circumstance led to the discovery of the whole plot.

While the ex-capuchin Mehalovich was out one day, a domestic playing with one of his fellow-servants, took into his head to put on the capuchin habit which his master had preserved among his clothes, when all on a sudden Mehalovich knocked at the house door. The servant, who did not understand the nature of the habit, could not get it off again, so sent his comrade to open the door, and hid himself under the bed. *Mehalovich* came in with *Hebenstreit*

and *Hackel*; they thought themselves secure; the servant overheard their whole conversation; it related entirely to the conspiracy that was to break out in three days. Hebenstreit renewed the conspirator's oath on his sword; Mehalovich took five hundred thousand florins, which were hidden in a harpsichord, and gave them to him for the execution of the plan; and no sooner did they leave the room, than the servant got from under the bed, and discovered the whole plot to the Ministers of the State.

The councils were immediately called in consequence of so important a discovery, and the chief conspirators were arrested on the day preceding the intended explosion. Hebenstreit was hanged at Vienna; Mehalovich, with seven Hungarian gentlemen, his accomplices, were beheaded at Presburg; and many others were condemned to exile, or to perpetual imprisonment.

The King of Prussia had similar conspiracies to guard against at Berlin. The papers of *Leveller-Leuchsering* which had been seized had already warned William III of the conspiracy that was brewing in the Lodges; but in the month of November 1792, a new plot was contriving. The signal agreed upon for the general insurrection was, the setting fire to two houses in different quarters of the town. On the day appointed the two houses were really set on fire. The brethren expected that the troops in garrison would be immediately sent, as was customary, to extinguish the flames, and keep order. While absent from their posts the rebels were to seize on them and let their banditti loose. Happily the Governor General Möllendorff had been informed of the plot. He commanded the troops to remain at their posts; the conspirators, finding their plans had been discovered, did not dare to show themselves. The incendiaries were arrested, the plot failed, and William III preserved his Crown.

Having acquired certain knowledge of the views of the conspirators, and of their connection with the French Jacobins, this Prince, as every reader would suppose, ought to have shewn more constancy in the cause of Royalty against Jacobinism. Court jealousies, and differing interests, that perpetually keep the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin at variance, may have led him to agree to a pacification with the sworn enemies of every power; but on the other hand it is difficult to account for the great sway which those very men must have had on his decisions, whose disorganizing principles he so much detested. The reader has seen the adepts of the modern *Spartacus* concealing themselves in the Lodges of Masonry; he has observed *Philo-Knigge* promising discoveries that would give the Sect sovereign sway over credulous minds. Unfortunately for Frederic William III he had become a member of one of those Lodges which the Illuminees, under the cloak of Rosicrucians, had converted into one of their theatres of imposture; and the following is an account given me by a learned Protestant Minister, who had had frequent conversations with his Prussian Majesty on the subject of Freemasonry. He informs me, that to divest his Majesty of any respect he might have for the Scripture, these Rosicrucians succeeded in making him believe that the Bible and Gospel of the Christians were deficient; that a far superior doctrine was to be found in the *sacred books of Enoch and of Seth*, supposed to be lost, but which they pretended to have

exclusively in their possession. Had it been possible to undeceive the king, the demonstrations adduced by our learned correspondent must have done so, since he invited his Majesty to read those pretended books of *Enoch* and *Seth*, or those apocryphal rhapsodies which these impostors offered to him as so precious, so secret, and so rare, but which had long since been printed in *Fabricius's collection*. His Majesty seemed to be convinced of the imposture of these empirical mystifiers; but curiosity is weak, and the Rosicrucians regain their ascendancy under the pretence of apparitions. So notorious was the credulity of the Prussian Monarch on this score, that in 1792, at the fair of Leipsic, were sold waistcoats called the *Berlin Jesus waistcoats* (*Berlinische Jesus westen*), in memory of the brethren having on a sudden announced the apparition of Christ; and the King asking how he was dressed, they answered, *in a scarlet waistcoat, with black facings and golden tresses*. If I am to credit what I have learnt through the same channel, William III deserved to be imposed upon in so humiliating a manner; for the great influence these impostors had acquired over his mind not only proceeded from their magic arts, but from their flattering his passions and propensity for the fair sex. They carried their impudence so far, as to tell him, that Christ *had granted him permission to have twelve wives at once*.

The most famous of his mistresses was a Madame de Reiz, afterwards created Countess of Lichtenau. Had the matters that appeared on her trial been made public, some light might have been thrown on her supposed understanding with the French jacobins, from whom she is said to have received rich presents, and with *Bischoffswerder*, who is now occupied, as we are told, in very different projects. We might then have learned how to reconcile that real hatred which William had conceived for the Jacobins, and the personal courage he has shown in combating them, with the peace he made precisely at the time when his armies could most efficaciously have co-operated for their destruction. But his successor has thought proper to commit to the flames the minutes of this trial, saying, that he would not read them, lest *persons, who might still be useful to him*, should be implicated in these intrigues. Some princes might have thought it prudent to read them, that they might learn who were the persons that could still do them much mischief. Without pretending to comment on the destroying of this monument of history, we are happy to say that William IV has inherited from his predecessor all his hatred for the Sect, without any of his weaknesses. The Freemasons of Berlin went so far as to ask to have their Lodges confirmed by letters patent, but the King dismissed them, saying, that in showing such a marked favour to them, he would be wanting in his duty to his other subjects, and that they would find protection as long as they did not trouble the public peace. The Masons, we may be sure, in return, promised to be most faithful subjects to his Majesty. They made similar promises during the reign of the late king, yet I have seen very honest Masons in London who were much alarmed at the language they heard in the Prussian Lodges, and that but a short time before the death of William III. By their account, the language of the Masons was as frantic to the full as that of the

Paris Jacobins: "When shall we be delivered from the tyrant? When shall we follow the example of our brethren of Paris? Is it not high time for us to show ourselves worthy of Equality and Liberty, and true Masons?" Such expressions, with many others far more offensive to the dignity and person of the king, were not in the mouths of some few brethren only; but whole Lodges were seized with the phrenzy, which raged most violently among the adepts who were connected with the French. Nor is it a trivial circumstance, or to be overlooked, that has taken place in the Lodge at Berlin calling itself *The Royal York*. Public fame has informed the world, that this Lodge has established within itself a *Directory*, a *Senate of Ancients*, and a *Senate of Youngers*, modelled on the actual Government of France. How far this revolution in the Lodge is to contribute towards, or denote the impatience with which the members thirst after the universal revolution which the Pentarques are endeavouring to operate, I shall not pretend to ascertain; but thus much I can positively assert, that the auxiliaries of the Paris brotherhood are not confined to the Lodges. They have their brethren, sent from Paris, in the Prussian armies. On the one hand, these soldiers are paid by his Prussian Majesty to maintain his throne; on the other, they are paid by the Pentarques to corrupt the Prussian regiments, and teach them to revolt against the throne. The generosity of the Jacobins is so great, that the wives of these disguised apostles are pensioned in France. Every one knows, that the arch conspirator Syeyes is gone to Berlin in a diplomatic character. Should his mission be ever accomplished, then will the historian have to explain conquests similar to those of Italy. Germany would certainly have long since fallen a prey to Illuminism had the plots formed met with success.

Tired of such partial treasons, that only threw a single town or a province into the hands of the enemy, the senate of the adepts, at that time holding its sittings at Vienna, had, as early as 1793, either digested a plan themselves, or received one, in thirty articles, that was to revolutionize the whole empire at the same instant.—Letters post-paid as far as Ægra were already dispatched for Gotha, Weimar, Dresden, and a hundred other towns, fixing the day of general insurrection for the first of November, inviting brethren and citizens to arm on that great day, though *it were only with knives*; to assemble in the squares of the towns, or in the fields without; to form into centuries and to elect chiefs; *to seize on the public revenue, on the arsenals, on the powder magazines, and on the members of government*. In compliance with the same plan, a *National Assembly was to rear its head in some town of the empire on the same day*, and the brethren in insurrection were to send their deputies to it. These letters were sent during the month of October; and happily for the state, a sufficient quantity of them were seized to counteract the effects of the conspiracy. The Sect consoled itself in the idea that ten years would not elapse, as Mauvillon had declared, before all Germany would be revolutionized. The adepts, indeed, are so very numerous, that it is almost incredible that the revolution has not already taken place; and the only way of accounting for it, is by

considering the inert disposition of the people, who cannot be easily thrown into that strong effervescence necessary for an explosion.

The letters from that country complain bitterly of the progress of Illuminism. To give my reader the means of judging how it comes to pass, that princes who are the best acquainted with the views of the Sect continue to tolerate them, I will transcribe the following passage from the memorials which I have received from Germany, and which have been confirmed by several well-informed persons: "One of the Sovereigns of Germany who has the most wit, the Duke of Brunswick, has suffered, under the auspices of *Campe, Mauvillon*, and *Trapp*, three famous Illuminees, both his capital and his states to become the public school of irreligion and Jacobinism. This might lead us to believe, that the prince was himself tainted with those principles, but it would be calumny to suppose it, for he only tolerates *these rascals* that he may not fall a victim to their plots. *Supposing I was to send them away*, said he, *they would only go elsewhere and calumniate me. A league ought to be entered into by the German princes, to suffer them in no part of the empire.*"

Meanwhile, till such a league is agreed upon, there are other governments in that country that permit the last mysteries of Illuminism to be taught publicly. "At Jena in Saxony for example, a professor is permitted to teach publicly, that *governments are contrary to the laws of reason and of humanity*; and consequently that, in twenty, fifty, or a hundred years time, not a government will exist."²⁶

To go still farther: few of the German princes will permit writers to combat either the Sect or its doctrines. A society of men of unblemished principles (if we may judge by their publication, the *Eudemonia* (right genius) had consecrated their labours in that journal to the unmasking of the intrigues, cunning, and principles, of the Illuminees. Not a single prince encourages this publication; several have proscribed it in their states, while the most jacobinical publications are allowed a free circulation. The *Eudemonia* has just been forbidden in the Austrian States, under the specious pretext, that its object and views are good, but that it makes principles known that are not sufficiently refuted. As a proof, however, that they were much better refuted than the Illuminees could wish, we need only observe, that the *Gazette Littéraire of Gotha*, the leading paper of the Sect, announced the prohibition before it was even known at Vienna. The reader will be less surprized at the artfulness of the pretext when he learns, that two of the *censors* who are to pronounce on the literary productions are the well known Illuminees *Sonnenfels* and *Retzer*, who, had it been for a journal of another stamp, would have reclaimed the liberty of the press in its favour.

We must now turn our attention to a new species of Jacobins who are making an amazing progress in Germany. These are the disciples of a Doctor KANT, who, rising from darkness, and from the chaos of his Categories, proceeds to reveal the mysteries of his Cosmopolitism. According to this system,—I. It is *melancholy* to be obliged to seek, *in the hopes of another world*, for the end and destiny of the *human species*.—II. It is not of man conducted

by reason, as it is of brutes led by instinct. The former has each for his end the developement of all his faculties; while in the latter, the end is accomplished in each individual brute. Among men, on the contrary, the end is for the species, and not for the individual; for the life of man is too short to attain the perfection and the complete developement of his faculties. In the class of man, *all the individuals pass and perish; the species alone survives, and is alone immortal.*—III. With respect to man again, the end of the species cannot be accomplished; that is to say, his faculties can only be entirely developed *in the most perfect state of society.*—IV. That perfect state of society would be a *general confederacy* of the inhabitants of the earth, so united together, that dissensions, jealousies, ambition, or wars, would never be heard of.—V. Thousands and thousands of years may elapse before this happy period of perpetual peace may come; but, “whatever may be the idea conceived of the free exercise of our will, *it is nevertheless certain, that the apparent result of that volition, the actions of man, are, as well as all the other facts of nature, determined by general laws.*” This nature proceeds with a slow but certain step toward its object. Vices, virtues, sciences, the dissensions of mankind, are in her hands but the sure and infallible means by which she leads the human species from generation to generation to the most perfect state of civilization. Sooner or later the epoch of the general confederation, of universal peace, must come; nevertheless, even at that period, *the human species will have proceeded but half way toward its perfection.*²⁷—I know not whether this doctrineer Kant will inform us in what the other half of the way toward perfection consists; but in the meantime his disciples, who are daily increasing, tell us, “that Europe must necessarily dissolve itself into as many republics as there are now monarchies; and then only will the human species show itself in all its strength and grandeur; then people incapable of governing will no longer be seen at the head of nations; *they will then rise to that high state of perfection at present attained by the French nation, where birth is nothing, but genius and talents every thing.*”²⁸ Other adepts, however, perfectly understand what is alluded to by the other half way toward perfection; and these acknowledge man only to be in a state of perfection when he recognizes no other master but himself, no other law but his reason. In short, it is man according to the professor of *Jena*, it is the *Magus* of *Weishaupt* or of *Babœuf*.²⁹

Notwithstanding the different methods of proceeding, it is easy to see that the system of *Kant*, at present Professor at *Königsberg*, ultimately leads to the same end as that of *Weishaupt*, heretofore Professor at *Ingolstadt*. The same hatred for revelation is to be found in both, as well as the same spirit of impiety, which cannot brook the idea of a world to come, where all delusion must cease in the presence of the Creator, and where the end of man and of the human species will be proclaimed at the tribunal of a remunerating and avenging God. *Kant* and *Weishaupt*, with similar pretensions to superior genius, are equally baffled in their attempts, falling into the most voluntarily absurd propositions, that leave the present generation no other consolation in its afflictions, than the empty *Cosmopolites* who, in thousands and thousands of

years, are, as we are told, to inhabit this earth. In both we may observe that same hypocrisy pretending to great sensibility and virtue, pretending not to know, that every individual who shall be persuaded that he is not born for any fixed or personal end, will soon shape his conduct according to his views or to his pleasures, and will little regard the future Cosmopolites, their universal peace, or the happiness that is to be spread over the earth twenty or thirty ages after his death. The same inept fatalism is taught by them both, wishing to represent nature as acting exactly as it pleases, in spite of our volition, and prevailing over our passions by its *general laws*; and nevertheless represent mankind as slow in seconding the grand object of Nature, just as if we were free to accelerate or to retard its views, by our actions. The only difference that can be perceived between these two prototypes of German Jacobinism, is, that the one at Königsberg envelopes his views in a pacific cant; while the other, in his mysteries, animates and infuriates his Epopts, teaching that the day is not far distant when the adepts are to resort to force, in order to crush and stifle every thing that should dare to resist them. But notwithstanding the pacific cant of the former, his doctrines also make his hearers thirst after that great day when the children of Equality and Liberty are to reign. His colleagues in the universities do not teach his principles with his coolness; the disciples become violent; the Jacobins smile; and as the system spreads, the offspring of both these teachers unite and form alliances in their tenebrous abodes. Under pretence of this perpetual peace that is to be enjoyed by future generations, they have begun by declaring a war of cannibals against the whole universe; nor is there to be found scarcely one of their offspring, that is not ready to betray his country, his laws, and his fellow-citizens, to erect that Cosmopolitan Empire announced by the Professor Kant, or to enthrone the *Man-king* of the modern *Spartacus*.

Such is the state of the Sect in Germany: It sways the Clubs, the Lodges, the Literary Societies, the *Diaesteres* or Offices of Government, and even Princes. It appears under variegated forms and names; but, however these may differ, it perpetually keeps that unhappy country in a state of crisis. Every throne is undermined by a volcano that menaces explosion whenever a favourable moment shall offer.

Why will not truth permit me to declare, that the conspiring Sect has respected that nation which, content with the wisdom, and living happy under the shield of its laws, must naturally have been adverse to, and constant in repelling the disorganizing plots and baneful mysteries of Illuminism? But have we not seen that Minister of Petkam, RONTGEN, sent to London under the protection of a great Prince? Nor is he the only apostle of Weishaupt that has crossed the seas in hopes of illuminizing England. The very name of *Xaverius Zwack* in these Memoirs recalled to the minds of many persons the stay which that famous adept of Illuminism made during a whole year at Oxford, just after his flight from Bavaria. The exactness of his description, taken from the Original Writings, left not the least shadow of doubt as to the person of the *Cato* of Illuminism. This has made people understand the real motives that

induced this adept to make that famous town his habitation, though he pretended to have been attracted thither by the fame of its science. Neither the place nor the times, however, were propitious to his mission, nor to principles that entailed upon him the just contempt of the doctors. Mr. Hornsby, who had entrusted him with some discoveries in astronomy, will now understand how this adept could barefacedly publish them in Germany as the offspring of his own genius. This will also explain why the *Cato* of Illuminism, who was despised at the university, and nearly expelled, never returned, though he only pretended a short absence to the Continent. Other apostles have succeeded him in his mission; and in gratitude for the asylum which this nation has granted us, I must declare, that the missionaries of Weishaupt have not been foiled in all their attempts.

When Mr. Robison published his assertion, that certain Masonic Lodges had been tainted by the illuminizing brotherhood, patriotism naturally exclaimed that it was impossible. Men who have instituted themselves into a sort of tribunal of public opinion called upon this respectable writer to produce his proofs. I know not what the answer of Mr. Robison was; all that I know is, that he might have replied, "When persons who are entitled to question me shall do so, I will answer." To those who may wish to question me, I will say, that there are circumstances which may forbid me to answer; it is sufficient that those who watch for the safety of the nation should be informed of them, that they may take precautions to counteract the Sect; besides, are there not many historical truths, that cannot be proved in a court of justice?

I make these observations with the more assurance, as Government most certainly have the competent proofs in their hands, which their wisdom, nevertheless, has kept secret. I make them because Mr. Robison has spoken with sufficient clearness, in his Appendix and in his Notes, to show that he was but too well informed when he spoke of the intrusion of Illuminism into certain English and Scottish Lodges, without being obliged to particularize the Lodges. But he certainly acted prudently in not exposing himself to the fate of the celebrated Zimmerman, who, as all the world knows, fell, in similar circumstances, a victim to the Illuminee *Philo-Knigge*; not because he had accused him unjustly, but that legal evidence was wanting to prove that *Philo* and *Knigge* were names applicable to the same person; a fact now so clear both by his own works and those of the adepts. They who have thus attempted to brand Mr. Robison with the name of calumniator, would have done well to reflect on the many means employed by the Sect to influence such a judgement; that it is a standing law of the Sect, *that where an author of merit cannot be gained over, he is to be discredited by every means possible*; and certainly he has a glorious title to the hatred of the Sect. I willingly confess, that it would have given me great pleasure, had it been consonant with prudence, that Mr. Robison had published all his proofs, as I am persuaded that any of those persons who have been so hasty and intemperate in their judgements would have voted him thanks for the service he has rendered to

his country, actuated as I suppose them to be with the same zeal for its happiness, but not equally informed as to the dangers with which it is menaced.

Notwithstanding the variance that is to be found between that respectable author and myself in some articles, (particularly on the Catholic religion,³⁰ and on the Jesuits, whom he might have represented in different colours, had he had, as we have, the whole history of their pretended Masonry before him, a mere fiction of the Illuminees to dupe the Masons and avert the attention of the public from the true conspirators); notwithstanding this variance, I shall never hesitate to acknowledge that he is entitled to the thanks of his fellow countrymen for having denounced a conspiracy that threatens this, as much as it does any other nation; I shall always bear willing testimony to the justice of his cause, to the ardour of his zeal, and to the uprightness of his intentions. Meanwhile, till he may judge it proper to publish his proofs on the Illuminism of certain English Masonic Lodges, I shall mention a few circumstances that have come to my knowledge.

To my certain knowledge, there are two men in England who have been tampered with by the Apostles of Illuminism. One of these, who belongs to the Navy, still preserves that honest indignation which must naturally arise in an upright heart at seeing itself so atrociously duped by an Insinuator who, under pretence of initiating him into the secrets of Masonry, was plunging him head foremost into Illuminism. The other, a man of great merit, who might have known more had he not discovered his real sentiments; but his letters bear testimony of the following particulars:

Of those books which show the multitude of Illuminized Lodges, there is one bearing the title of *Paragrafin*; and it is often put into the hands of certain candidates by the Insinulators. In this production we may see the travelling adept Zimmerman boasting of having illuminized Lodges in England, just as he had done in Italy and Hungary. In some of these Lodges the tenets of Illuminism were well received; but of five that have come to my correspondent's knowledge, two soon abandoned the mysteries of the modern *Spartacus*, the other three are not known to have rejected them.

Another apostle soon succeeded to Zimmerman; this was a Doctor *Ibiken*, an assumed name, perhaps, as it was customary with the travelling adepts to change their names according to circumstances. Whatever may have been the case, this *Ibiken*, an emissary of the Ecclectic Lodges of Illuminism, began by uniting with some Quakers. He was afterwards received into certain Lodges, and introduced some of the preparatory degrees. He even succeeded in completely illuminizing some of the duped brethren. He also boasted of his successes in Ireland and England. He would foretel to his English pupils, that a great revolution was about to be operated in the pitiful and miserable Masonry of their country. Those to whom this language was perfectly unintelligible at the time, have told me, that they have perfectly understood his meaning since they have perused my publication. They have lost sight of

the Doctor, which was the natural consequence of his being admonished to depart with his mysteries by those who watch over the public safety.

Another emissary soon after appeared, and coming from America under the name of *Reginhard*, declared himself an Alsatian, and formerly an Almoner in the French navy. He expected to be well received by certain English Lodges in correspondence with those he had just left at Boston, and which, according to his account, had made a surprising progress since they had fraternized with the brethren that had gone from France to America. This *Reginhard* did not appear so zealous as the other apostles; he even signified his disgust with a mission that so little became his station in life. It was through him more particularly that my correspondent became acquainted with the existence of Illuminism on the banks of the Thames.

This is certainly enough to prove, that the illuminization of England was not neglected by the conspiring brethren. I will say more, that notwithstanding the honourable exception I have made in favour of the English Lodges, I am no longer surprized to hear of Illuminism being well received by certain Lodges. And I here think it necessary to repeat, that when I made the exception, I only meant to speak of what is called the *National Masonry, restricted to the first three degrees*. I should have been more circumspect in my exception, had I known of a pamphlet entitled, *FREEMASONRY: A Word to the Wise*. Here, in vindication of the Grand Lodge of England, I see the most violent complaints preferred against the introduction of a variety of degrees, of which, in a political point of view, it is certainly the duty of a well-ordered government to repress the vice and immorality; the *impiety* of the Rosicrucians is particularly complained of (page 9); and I think that in the course of these Memoirs I have pretty clearly proved, that from the profound Rosicrucian to the mysteries of Weishaupt there is but a short step.

There is also extant another work, printed *fifty* years ago, *On the Origin and Doctrine of Freemasons*. This work would have been of the greatest use to me had it fallen into my hands a little sooner. Let me no longer be accused of having been the first to reveal, that an impious and disorganizing *Equality and Liberty* were the grand secret of the Occult Lodges. The author of this work was as positive in this assertion as myself, and at that time clearly demonstrated it, by following step by step the Scotch degrees of Masonry as they existed in those days. Time may have changed certain forms; but all the numerous degrees styled *philosophical* have not been able to add an iota to the systems at that time followed in the Lodges of the *Scotch Architects*. That species of Masons is as bad as the Illuminees. It can scarcely be conceived with what art they proceed. As they are still extant in Great Britain, it is not too late to point the attention of the ruling powers toward them. Let us proceed at once to their last mysteries.

“When a candidate presents himself to be received a *Scotch Architect*, the tyler asks him, whether he has a vocation for *Liberty, Equality, Obedience, Courage, and Constancy*.” When the candidate has answered *yes*, he is introduced within the interior of the Lodge. Here it is no longer the

representation of the Temple of Solomon, but of five animals, the *Fox*, the *Monkey*, the *Lion*, the *Pelican*, and the *Dove*. The *Signs*, and the word *Adonai*, being given to the candidate, the orator begins an enigmatical discourse, of which the following is a part: "*Craftiness, Dissimulation, Courage, Love, Sweetness; Cunning, imitation, fury, piety, tranquillity; mischief, mimicry, cruelty, goodness, and friendship, are all one and the same thing, and are generated in the same thing. They seduce, inspire joy, give rise to sorrow, procure advantage and serene days. They are five in number, and still they are but one. Soon—soon—soon—by him that was, is now, and ever shall be, &c. &c.*"

"The remainder of the discourse (says my author) is in the same strain. However obscure these things may appear, they are nevertheless clear as day, if attention be paid to the figures that denote the characters of the Freemasons. The *craftiness of the Fox* denotes the art with which the Order hides its object. The *imitation of the Monkey* typifies that suppleness of mind, that address with which the Masons can accommodate themselves to the various talents and tastes of the candidates. The *Lion* denotes the strength and courage of those who compose the society. The *Pelican* is the emblem of the tenderness that reigns among the brethren.—The peaceable demeanor of the *Dove* is representative of the *peace of the golden age*, or of those serene days that Freemasons promise to the universe."

The author from whom we make these extracts lived for a long time with Masons of this species. He was often present at their Lodges and councils; he attended at their deliberations when contriving the means of accomplishing their plans. He then continues to speak of the initiation of a Scotch candidate: "There is no rule which ordains, that the object of the Society should be made known to him in clear terms; but only in terms that would be insufficient to make him wholly understand the morality and polity that are universally received. On the night of his reception they simply tell him, that *Equality and Liberty* among the brethren is the sole object of the Society.—But should the *new Architect* show signs of a perfect preparedness for the ultimate mystery of the Society, *he is then let into the secret, or rather informed of the grand object of the Society, which is to reduce ALL MEN to a reciprocal EQUALITY, and to reinstate mankind in its natural LIBERTY.* In short, after a few days meeting, they openly declare, that the expression of *establishing Equality* among men and of reinstating mankind in their natural liberty, indistinctly comprehends all persons of whatever quality or station they may be, without excepting magistrates, great, or small."³¹

The ceremonies and catechism of this degree perfectly coincide with these explanations. In short, every thing so clearly demonstrates *Equality and Liberty* to be the ultimate object of their mysteries, that the author attributes the origin, or at least the restoration, of Masonry to Cromwell and his Independents. The author would have simply attributed the restoration to him, had he been acquainted with the manuscript of Oxford. Inferences of the utmost importance may be drawn from this work, both as to the history of Freemasonry and the interests of Governments. It is easily seen at present, that

the disorganizing mysteries of the occult Lodges are at least anterior to the reign of the French Sophisters. These may have new-modelled them after their fashion, and multiplied and varied the degrees; but their principles had been received in the Lodges long before Voltaire wrote. The *Knights Kadosch* was already extant in the *Scotch Architect*. When the latter is asked in his catechism, what he is called, he answers *cunning* and *simple*; the *Kadosch* may answer *bold* and *impatient*. The difference lies in the character, and not in the systems. This degree of *Scotch Architect* also explains whence the pre-eminence of the Scotch Lodges arises, and why the Lodges of other countries are so desirous of corresponding with the mother Lodge called the Lodge *Heredom of Kilwinning*, in Scotland. It is there that the famous *Architects of Equality and Liberty* are supposed to be the guardians of the last mysteries. It was with this Lodge also, that a number of French Lodges at Marseilles, Avignon, Lyons, Rouen, &c. &c. would be affiliated, notwithstanding the influence of the *Grand Orient of Paris*.³²

In short, the discovery of this degree of *Grand Architect* is of importance to Governments in general, and particularly to that of England; for it shows the dangers to which a state is exposed where, in the midst of those Brethren who dedicate themselves to an innocent Equality, exist a number sufficient to transmit the Grand Mysteries of the Sect.

In spite of all the secrecy observed by this species of adept, who is there that can view their very existence in any other light than as a perpetual conspiracy against the state? How then can we be surprised if the Illuminees found persons in these countries willing to fraternize with them, and to combine their plots with those of the missionaries? However pure the generality of the English Lodges may be, is not this enough to show that the most disastrous plots may suddenly burst from the Lodges; and that the presence of virtuous men may only serve as a cloak to the designs of the wicked?—Do not let me be told, that the Good counteract the evil intentions of the Wicked; for the latter can find means of meeting unknown to the former, though the same Lodge may be an asylum for them both. There are Lodges now extant, that (to use the expression of a brother who frequented them a few months since) would not admit a *single Aristocrat*. My reader must understand such language? There are Lodges the entries to which are perfect labyrinths. The adepts do not go out by the same house as they entered; and, the more completely to baffle the vigilance of the constituted authorities, they have changed their dresses.

But let us for an instant suppose, that the Sect could make no impression on the English Lodges, we know that *Chauvelin* and *Vandermoot*, on quitting London, left their emissaries behind; public danger is best probed by private facts; and the reader will not be surprised when he sees me descend to the following particulars relative to the emissaries of Jacobinism in England.

Having been honoured with the acquaintance of Mr. Burke, I introduced to him a gentleman who wished to consult him with respect to a letter written to Manuel, who at that time governed the *Commune* of Paris, in conjunction

with *Tallien*, the sanguinary butcher of the bloody September. This was in the first year of my emigration. The letter had been written for a French nobleman, who, wishing to return to Paris, thought it might be advantageous to get a letter of recommendation to Manuel from a Jacobin then resident in London. This nobleman's wife suspected some treachery, and opened the letter. The epistle really began with a sort of recommendation, but ended with saying, "this nobleman is, after all, a rank aristocrat, who ought to be got rid of by the pikes or the guillotine, that he may not return any more to London." In the body of the letter an account was given to Manuel of the state of the brethren in London. Among other things it stated, that *five hundred* persons were present at their last meeting; that they were ardent in the cause; that their numbers daily increased, and that every thing denoted the best dispositions for hoisting the revolutionary standard. This letter was immediately laid before the ministry.

Notwithstanding every method was adopted that wisdom could suggest, the partizans of the Sect increased, instead of diminishing; and in a short time there were at least *fifteen hundred* conspirators in London, worthy of being marshalled by *Jourdan Coup-tête*. There were at the same time in London two men who had been educated in all the arts of the police of Paris, and they were ordered to enquire into the state of the foreigners, and to distinguish the real emigrants from the new comers. It was soon discovered, that a banditti of all nations, criminals from the *Bicetre*, from the *gallies*, and who had escaped the gallows; the chosen bands, in short, of Necker, Orleans, and Mirabeau, had been sent into England by their successors of the great club, to effect a similar revolution. It was in consequence of this that the Alien Bill was enacted.

But the Sect is relentless; it roars at the very idea of the obstacles it has met with in England. At London, at Edinburgh, at Dublin, it has its national brethren, its conspiring and *Corresponding Societies*. In London we see the duped brethren of the highest aristocracy proclaiming the *sovereignty of the people* at their revels; while, in the hidden retreat of their secret societies, other brethren are plotting how to put the fortunes of the aristocratic dupes, of the banker, and of the merchant, in requisition for the use of that *sovereign people*; in those same recesses, under pretence of *Reform*, do they wish to erect on the ruins of the British constitution, the reveries of a Paine, a Syeyes, or of the Pentarques; they wish to plant that tree of Equality and Liberty whose nourishment is gore and pillage, whose fruit is murder, misery, and exile. Others are training their deluded followers to assassination, and are forging pikes—Yes, the scourge has been wafted across the ocean with all its plots; the adepts have not forgotten the land of their ancestors, the Puritans, Anabaptists, and Independants. They have discovered their progenitors in those same dens to which Cromwell had confined them, after having, through their means, dethroned and murdered his king, dissolved the parliament, and seduced the nation to his yoke. The brethren of Avignon recognized the Illuminees of Swedenborg as their parent Sect; neither were they unmindful of the embassy sent them by the Lodge of Hampstead. Under the auspices of *De Mainauduc*,

they have seen their disciples thirsting after that *celestial Jerusalem*, that *purifying fire* (for these are the expressions I have heard them make use of) that was to kindle into a general conflagration throughout the earth by means of the French revolution—and thus was Jacobin Equality and Liberty to be universally triumphant even in the streets of London.

But what a concatenation of conspiracies will the historian find when he shall turn to the archives of those societies styling themselves of *Constitutional Information* or *Corresponding*. Here, however, Justice and the Senate have interposed; they have torn away the mask, and behold the brethren of *Edinburgh* bound in the same plots and machinations as those of *Dublin*, of *London*, of *Sheffield*, of *Manchester*, of *Stockport*, of *Leicester*, and of many other towns, all uniting in their wishes, invitations, and addresses to the Jacobin Legislators.³³ The Mother Society at once demonstrates all the arts of the *Secret Committees of the Grand Orient* under Philip of Orleans; the deep cunning of the *Bavarian Areopage* under Weishaupt; and the profligate means of seduction of *Holbach's Club* under D'Alembert. All these they combine in hopes of hurrying away a generous nation into the sink of impiety, and thence to rebellion; they combine, in hopes of uniting the councils and the efforts of the dispersed brethren in the cause of revolution. Subscriptions are raised in Great Britain and Ireland, as they were in France, to print Paine's Code of Rebellion, and circulate it from the town to the village, and even in the very cottage.³⁴ Others of the brethren are distributing at their own expence all the poisons of infidelity, nor do they blush to go and ask subscriptions from house to house for the reprinting of the most profligate and impious productions of Voltaire, Diderot, Boulanger, La Metherie, and of other Deists or Atheists of the age, and this under the specious pretence of *enlightening ignorance*, and how?, by putting all the blasphemies of the Sophister into the hands of the people.

The brethren of *Edinburgh*, like those of *Berlin*, were not to be contented with the mere arts of seduction. One might be led to think that the adepts *Watt* and *Downie* had received their instructions from the Prussian Areopage. Notwithstanding the immense distance that divides *Edinburgh* from *Berlin*, they adopted precisely the same plan to draw off the attention of the troops by means of the burning of some house, and while the soldiery should be occupied with extinguishing the fire to fall on them, and in the midst of this popular commotion to proclaim the Jacobin Code. In *London*, have we not seen regicides? At *Paris*, *Lewis XVI*, captive in his capital, was dragged to the guillotine. At *Ublingen*, *Lewis XVIII*, when a fugitive, was wounded in the head by a ball. In *London*, was *George III* in the midst of the acclamations of his subjects, aimed at by the regicide crew; and if Heaven averted the ball, is the Sect less treacherous or less abominable, because it did not succeed in its foul attempt? At length, disdaining obscure crimes, and aiming at the annihilation of the Throne, of the Parliament, and of the whole British Constitution, they attempt to seduce the legions of the empire from their allegiance by means of the most inflammatory hand-bills; they would persuade

gallant troops to shake off discipline and butcher their officers, as had been done in France. Emissaries found their way into the fleets; and the sailors were for a time deluded by the sophisms of those seducers, who wished to pervert the bold opponents of the Jacobins on the ocean, into the treacherous abettors of those same Jacobins that dare not face an honest tar. In Ireland, they assume another form; independence in church and state is held out to a deluded people by the emissaries of those who have obliterated every worship and every law in France, in Corsica, in Belgium, in Savoy, in Holland, in Italy, to subject the miserable inhabitants of those once flourishing countries to the tyranny of the Pentarques. In that unfortunate country all the arts of seduction have been played off that Illuminism could invent, and its perjuries have raged to a frightful excess. There did the legions of the Sect, conceiving themselves powerful in their numbers, sally forth from their lurking places. It was no longer a partial treason to be punished; the force of armies were necessary to crush whole legions of rebels who were daily expecting succour from a foreign foe.

But, Praise be to God on high, who in his mercy has counteracted the malice of such plots, of such seditions: Praise be to the all-powerful God, who has preserved this state from the machinations of its enemies!—May the Historian, after having traced the origin, the code, the re-union, the attempts, and the successes of such numerous conspiring Sects, against God and his Son, against thrones and kings, against society and its laws, repose himself, and complacently view the happiness of these Isles, when he comes to treat of the land that has proved an asylum to so many unfortunate victims! May he triumphantly say, “There it was that the surges of insurrection were dashed back upon itself, the attempts of Jacobinism were as vain as the efforts of its fleets.”—Happy shall we be, if, by entering into this disquisition on the fury of Jacobinism, we shall have contributed to awaken the attention of nations to the true causes of all their misfortunes and revolutionary disasters! Thrice happy shall we be, if we shall have succeeded in guarding this nation against the dangers with which it is threatened; a nation to which the world looks up for its safety; a nation which, in its beneficence, is become our adoptive country. May it ever behold us offering up our prayers to heaven for the preservation of its king and for its prosperity, with all that affection and zeal that nature inspires for one’s native soil!

To presume that we have fulfilled our task in such a manner as not to stand in need of the indulgence of our readers, would be impertinent. We ingenuously confess the inferiority of our talents, and the many imperfections we are conscious must exist in Memoirs of such high importance to the public cause. But with confidence we assert, that we have never swerved from truth. It has been our constant and only guide in pointing out the causes of the revolution, it shall continue to be so in treating of such means and drawing such conclusions as must necessarily follow from the facts demonstrated in the course of these Memoirs.

1. See Hoffman's *Avis Important*, Vol. I. Sect. XIX.
2. This work alone might suffice to prove, that if *Philo-Knigge* did really abandon the Order of the Illuminees, he continued at least to propagate their principles. Should the reader wish for a more striking proof, he will find it in the historical Eulogium upon him, written by the Jacobin *George Frederic Rebmann*, who also wrote the Eulogy of Robespierre. (See his *Schildvachte*, Vol. I. Art. KNIGGE, and FRANCE, page 89).
3. With respect to the 30,000,000, see Dumourier's Memoirs; and for the 21,000,000 that are included in the accounts of this year, the use to which they were put, was betrayed by one of those deputies whom the Pentarques wished to banish to Cayenne.
4. See Hoffman *Avis Important*, Sect. XV.
5. Custine's Memoirs, Vol. I. Page 46, 47.
6. *Ibid.* Vol. I. Page 92, and Desodoard's History of the French Revolution, Vol. I. Book II. No. 24.
7. Appendix to the Ultimate Fate of Masonry, page 17 and Memoirs.
8. Memoirs on Mayence.
9. Original Writings, and Philo's Report.
10. Extract of a Secret Memorial, written a few months before the invasion of Holland.
11. Extract of a Secret Memorial.
12. Just as this sheet was going to the press a publication, entitled *Les Nouveaux Interets de l'Europe*, fell into my hands, and the following passage appeared to me so very applicable to our subject, that I have extracted it: "The Emperor has been blamed for signing the preliminaries of Leoben, on the 18th of April 1798. This certainly appears to have been done precipitately; but are those who blame him acquainted with the reasons that induced him to take that step? The Emperor had been informed by his Brother, the Archduke Charles, of the bad disposition of a great part of the officers of his army of Italy. He knew that both at Verona and Padua they affected to imitate the French in their discourse, manners, and sentiments; it seemed as if they needed but the tri-coloured cockade to make the semblance complete. He was aware that they fled in the most critical moment of an action; so that, in spite of excellent generals, of a well-appointed staff, and of the bravest men, he was always obliged to retire. He may perhaps have conceived that he was betrayed by these same officers; for it is well known, that Buonaparte, in an unguarded moment, declared, that the Austrian army cost him more than his own." TRANS.
13. When the Author published his First Volume, or Antichristian Conspiracy, in the beginning of 1797, and positively declared, "*the total overthrow of Christianity*" to be "the object of the Sect," his assertion was much cavilled at by those who were eager that this nation should not give credit to an author who was about to lay open the tenebrous ramifications of this universal conspiracy; others again were made to believe, that the Sect only aimed at reforming what they chose to style the errors of the Church of Rome. I here call my reader's attention to an event that has just taken place, and he may then judge whether the author was correct when he said, that the total overthrow of Christianity was the object of the Sect. In the *Propagateur 6 Brumaire*, Year 7 (or 15th Oct. 1798), we read, "The following is the distribution of the edifices (of worship) for the use of the citizens of Paris, as determined by the central administration of the Seine." Paris is divided into twelve Wards, in lieu of parishes, each having the following churches annexed to them, and which are in future to be called *Temples*: Ist Ward—The church of St. Philip du Roule consecrated to concord. II.

The church of St. Roche to *Genius*. III. St. Eustache to *Agriculture*. IV. St. Germain-L'Auxerrois to *Gratitude*. V. St. Laurence to *old age*. VI. St. Nicolas in the Fields to *Hymen*. VII. St. Merry to *Commerce*. VIII. St. Margaret to *EQUALITY and LIBERTY*. IX. St. Gervais to *Youth*. X. St. Thomas of Aquin as to *Peace*. XI. St. Sulpice to *Victory*. XII. St. James-du-haut-pas to *Benevolence*, St. Medard to *Labour*, and St. Stephen on the Mount to *filial Piety*." This needs no comment, when in the hands of a Christian reader. TRANS.

14. Should the historian of the assassination of Gustavus of Sweden not be a sufficient voucher for the existence of this tribunal, (*Sect. IV*) it is, however, an undoubted fact, that the Sect had most powerful advocates at Rome; for the Nuncio at Avignon, having ordered the Illuminee *Pemetti* and his adepts to leave the country in the space of one month, they procured from Rome a counter-order (real or forged) permitting them to stay. This business was followed up at Rome by the arrestation of an adept, which threw the adepts of Avignon into fears that were only removed by the revolution.
15. See Irish Report, No. XIV.—At Quebec, July 7, 1797, a man of the name of *David McLean* was tried and condemned to suffer on the 21st of the same month, being convicted of having come into Canada, under the disguise of a merchant, with a view of raising the people against the Government, and to deliver over the colony to the French. He had taken all the necessary steps; the oath of secrecy, pikes, and other arms, were to be delivered to the people. The brethren at Montreal and Quebec were by the next spring to prepare the way for an army of 10,000 men that was to be brought over in a French fleet, and attack both these towns at the same time. Mr. Adet, the French Minister at Philadelphia, was implicated in it; thus do the Pentarques convert their ambassadors into the ringleaders of the conspiring bands wherever they are received; this may be said to be one of the marking features of Jacobinism.
16. Private Notes on Switzerland.
17. See the History of this Revolution by Mallet du Pan.
18. Knigge's apostles in Courl and Livonia had, doubtless, extended their mission; and a Russian gentleman informed me, that one of the great adepts presided over an academy at Moscow where the young Nobility were educated. Every thing seemed to denote an excellent school, when by degrees it was observed, that the illuminized Rights of Man was the ground-work of the secret lessons of this great teacher. They were obliged to dismiss him, as the only means of restoring his pupils to the true principles of religion and society.
19. Extract from a Memorial on Russia.
20. June 1791.
21. Important notice by Hoffman, Vol. I. sect. 19.
22. Hoffman's Letter in the Eudemonia, Vol. VI. No. 2.
23. Important notice by Hoffman.
24. Travels of two Frenchmen in the North, Vol. V. ch. 12.
25. So late as February last (1798) the magistrates of Jena were obliged to punish about a dozen scholars, who, formed into an association calling themselves *Amicists*, were under the direction of the adepts. To prepare these youths for the mysteries of Illuminism, their secret superiors represented the oath appropriated to this association as the most sacred engagement that could be taken, and the least violation of it as

being immediately followed by the most terrible punishments.—They were then questioned, whether they were sufficiently enlightened to believe that they could, *without scruple*, break the oath which they had sworn to the superior of the college, never to engage in any secret society;—whether they believed themselves sufficiently virtuous to accuse themselves alone, and no other person, in case the magistrates should punish them for a breach of that oath;—whether they thought themselves sufficiently courageous to continue in the association, though they should be compelled to abjure it.—The Illuminee who had questioned them, if satisfied with their answers, gave them the Code of the *Amiadists*, and therein they learned that they and their associates formed a *state within the state*; that they had *laws of their own* according to which they judged of *affairs that were beyond their sphere*; and this required the most profound secrecy; that should several of them hereafter meet in the same town, they should establish a lodge, and do all that lay in their power to propagate the society; that if they were perchance to change their place of habitation (which should be only done in some extraordinary case), they should then correspond with their own lodge, while the secretary was to hold correspondence with the other lodges, making his return of the name, quality, and country of every new candidate; that they would obey the superiors of the Order, succour their brethren, and procure advancement for them; in short, they *were to be ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the Order*.

Several of these young *Amiadists*, which of all the different associations was supposed to be the most innocent, refused to give the list of the brethren, lest they might be inculpated. They, however, declared that the Order comprehended many *men of quality and of high honour, magistrates and persons in office*. (See the *Minutes of the Judgment; or the Staats und gelehrte zeitung of Hamburg*, No. 45, 13 of March.)

Supposing that the reader may wish to know in what state young men came from these Lodges and Colleges, I will here quote an example from the notes I have received from Germany. “At the time I am writing this (July 13th 1794) at the Baths, four leagues from Hanover, there resides here a young man who arrived a few days since from the university of Jena, where he was educated. It is the reigning Count Plattenberg, one of the richest noblemen of Germany, aged 24, of Catholic parents, and a nephew of Prince Kaunitz, the minister. In consequence of the principles imbibed by this young Count at the university of Jena, he dresses in the complete style of a democrat, and affects the uncouthness of their manners.—He would have his servant sit next to him at the *table d’hôte*, but it was not permitted. This young *Egalité* goes about, singing the *Ca-ira* and the *Marseillois Hymn*, with other youths whom he gathers together. Don’t let this be taken in the light of an *anecdote relating to a thoughtless individual*. His folly is the reigning folly of students in all the universities of Germany; and this folly is the produce of those doctrines taught by the professors, while governments pay no attention to them.”

The same notes (and they are written by a Protestant) represent the *university of Halle* in Saxony, where the greater part of the King of Prussia’s subjects go to finish their educations, as in a state similar to that of Jena. In April 1794 the chiefs of the commission of religion of Berlin, MM. *Hermes & Hilmer*, went by order of the King of Prussia, to visit the Lutheran college at Halle, and they disapproved of many things that were going on. The students received them with the cry of *Pereant* (let them perish), and obliged them to seek their safety in flight. Their ministers of religion are

exposed to similar insults. Dogs are set at them when preaching, and indecencies take place in the churches that would not be suffered in the streets. "The *Illuminees* themselves publish these abominations, that their pupils the *Amicists* may be induced to act in a similar manner." Such is the education of youth where the Sect predominates.

26. Memoirs on Jacobinism in Germany. Anno 1794.
27. Plan of a General History in a Cosmopolitical View, by Kant. See The *Spectateur du Nord*, April 1798.
28. Memoirs of the State of Jacobinism in Germany.
29. I was not put to the trouble of reading Doctor Kant's works in German. Mr. *Nitsch* has published a sort of analysis of them in English. Those who might tremble at the idea of bewildering themselves in his chaos of Categories may read the account given of them in the *British Critic*, August 1796; and the reader may easily judge of the absurdity of the argument which the Prussian Doctor heaps up against the very possibility of revelation. A Doctor *Willich* has lately shown himself a rival of *Nitsch* in proclaiming the glorious feats of this professor of darkness. I have perused the analysis that Dr. *Willich* has given us, and the praises bellowed on the project of a *perpetual peace*. I could not understand why he would only give the title of the work that relates chiefly to that point, I mean of that very treatise whence Doctor Kant's principles on Cosmopolitism have been extracted. Was the disciple afraid that it would have exposed the doctrines of his master too much, and opened the eyes of the English reader on this *plan of perpetual peace*, and on the drift of his whole system of Cosmopolitism?
30. I do not here pretend to refute the religious prejudices of certain writers against the Catholics: But what has the French Revolution to do with confession, with monastic vows, with indulgencies, or the jurisdiction purely spiritual of the Pope, and articles of such a nature? The proof that these objects were far from contributing to the Revolution is, that the Jacobins spare no pains to destroy them. In a book combating the Jacobins, what can induce a writer to vent his spleen against the tenets of a Catholic? I might say to many writers who have been guilty of this most extraordinary imprudence, Begin at least, gentlemen, by making yourselves acquainted with our tenets, and then see whether we are able to defend them. To others I would say, For God's sake let us expose our belief ourselves, let us say what we do and what we do not believe. The defence you may with the best intentions set up for us, may be more hurtful than beneficial to our cause. Mr. Robison, no doubt, thought that he was speaking in favour of the church of France, when he said, that that church had long since established its independence of the Court of Rome. If by the Court of Rome he means the temporal dominion of the Pope, the French had no great trouble in establishing such an independence, as it never recognized any such dominion; if he means the purely spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope, neither our Catholic bishops, Clergy, nor Laity, ever wished to throw it off. They all continue to believe what they always have believed, that the Pope, as successor of St. Peter, has the jurisdiction as first pastor over the Church of France, as he has over all others. Every one knows, that this jurisdiction of the sovereign Pontiff is held in our faith as an essential point of the hierarchy established by Christ; but every one also knows, that the jurisdiction of the Pope, as well as that of all Bishops, is not of this world; that it does not militate in any way with the duties we owe to our sovereigns; that it can never

absolve us from the fidelity and submission which we owe to the laws of the State. I, therefore, here protest against all those who may choose to interpret the esteem I have declared to entertain for Mr. Robison's work as alluding to those parts of it that are absolutely contrary to my faith. On this occasion also I beg to observe, that in the case of the present Revolution both Protestants and Catholics should unite, and lay aside their prejudices against each other, to combat the impiety of the Jacobins, as their aim is to annihilate the religions of both. Beside, what party has a right to boast, when the Revolution is considered; *Spartacus*-Weishaupt and *Cato*-Zwack were two apostate Catholics—*Philo*-Knigge and *Lucian*-Nicolai two apostate Protestants—Thomas Paine an apostate Anglican. In France, the Catholic citizens of Paris, the Protestant citizens of Nismes; in Ireland, large portions of a Catholic populace organized into a revolutionary army under Protestant chiefs. In Germany, the Illuminees take their origin in a Catholic University, and all the Lutheran Universities are full of Illuminizing Professors. Such considerations as these should certainly put an end to reproach on either side. I must confess, that the Lutherans and Calvinists with whom I correspond in Germany are much more candid; they spare neither side, and are the first to point out those of their own persuasion who are tainted with Illuminism. They behold the Jacobins as enemies to every religion; and when jacobinism is in question, they wisely confess the necessity of uniting all parties to crush the hydra.

31. Of the Origin of the Freemasons, degree of Architect.
32. I have in my possession, the original of the patents empowering a Brother mason to erect Lodges under the direction of that of Rouen. A Provincial holds his residence at this latter place, and is entrusted with the power of judging the lawsuits or dissensions that may arise within the province; but when any thing of great consequence has happened, it is referred to the Lodge of *Heredom* for judgment. Had *Joseph II* seen this, he might well have called it an *imperium in imperio*, or an *empire throughout ALL empires*. The reader will remark, that the brethren say, *Heredom* (*Harodim*), is a Hebrew word signifying *chiefs* or *governors*. It is also to be remembered, that there is another degree of *Grand Architect* entirely different from that which I have just described. The multiplicity of these degrees only serve the better to hide their object.
33. I have annexed a more extensive application of these Memoirs to Ireland and Great Britain at the end of the fourth Volume. [Because of its length, that application is not reprinted here. Editor.] Let me on this occasion beg and beseech every Magistrate and every Clergyman, whose province it is more particularly to instruct and guide the people at large, and for whom this work is more peculiarly adapted, to read once more and with attention the Reports of the English House of Commons made in 1794. After having perused these Memoirs, they will view them in a very different light from what they formerly did. *Trans.*
34. Thousands of that abominable pamphlet were sent out to the British establishments in the East Indies. *Trans.*

CONCLUSION

WHAT a painful and disgusting course have I at length terminated! Wandering through those subterraneous haunts where, in the shades of darkness, conspirators were plotting against all religion and society, I have frequently shuddered with horror, and felt my courage sinking! Fired with indignation at the sight of such iniquity, such a concatenation of crimes still contriving, how often have I said to myself, Leave this abyss of wickedness, fly the abodes of these vile and monstrous conspirators; it may be better even to fall their victim than to sully one's mind with the recollection of such villany, treason, and impiety, or to be the accuser to posterity of the age in which we live.—But have I not contemporaries to be saved? There still exist nations that have not bent beneath the Jacobin yoke; my fellow-countrymen may, perhaps, be induced to shake off that yoke, when they are made acquainted with the unparalleled plots and artifices contrived for their seduction. And ought not posterity to be informed to what an extent this disastrous Sect raged in our days, that it may guard against a renewal of similar horrors? Such thoughts inspired me with courage; they have carried me through this disgusting task; they were my support when overpowered with the odious sight of legions of conspirators conjuring up every hellish art to heap misery on the inhabitants of the earth: moreover the most convincing proofs have never been wanting.

But can it be possible that my endeavours should prove fruitless? if so, alas! let these pages be rent asunder; commit to the flames these Memoirs which bear testimony of such a multitude of hideous plots that threatened society. Kings, Pontiffs, Magistrates, Princes, and Citizens of every class, if it be true, that I have attempted in vain to dissipate the fatal illusion; if it be true, that the pestiferous blast of Jacobinism has deadened your senses, and plunged your souls into lethargy; if it be true, that the torpor of indolence has rendered you callous to your own dangers, as well as those that threaten your children, your country, your religion, and your laws; if you are incapable of the least effort, of the smallest sacrifice for your own safety and for that of the public; if the world be peopled only by dastards, who are ready to submit their necks to the Jacobin yoke, let them be carried into bondage, let them be slaves to Jacobins and to their principles; may their fortunes fall a prey to brigands; may their temples, thrones, governments, palaces, and habitations, fall beneath the blows of the relentless Sect! When you tear these pages, banish from your

mind all presage of disasters; pass your days in joy, festivity, and merriment, till the knell of revolution shall sound and startle ye from your lethargy. The Jacobins will take upon themselves the care of hastening the fatal hour. To announce it beforehand to such torpid souls would be to anticipate their sufferings; no, sleep the sleep of death; may your ears be deaf to the sound of those chains that are forging for you; approach not where truth may undeceive you; no, follow in the retinue of some false prophet that may beguile you.

But should there be found men whose manly courage would be fired with zeal for the public cause at the very recital of such monstrous combinations against church and state; for them I write; it is on them that I call when I say, that notwithstanding all the artifices of the various Sects, and the tremendous power which Jacobinism has already acquired, Europe is not yet subjected to them. It is yet possible to crush that Sect which has sworn to crush your God, plunder your country, and annihilate society.—Your country and yourselves may still be saved. But in the war that the Sect is waging against you, as well as in all other wars, the first requisite for working your safety is the perfect conviction of your danger, and an accurate knowledge of the enemy, of his plans, and of his means. It was not unintentionally that I heaped proof upon proof to demonstrate that Jacobinism was a coalition of the *Sophisters of Impiety* swearing to crush the God of the Gospel; of the *Sophisters of Rebellion* swearing to overturn the thrones of kings; and of the *Sophisters of Anarchy* conspiring not only against the altar and the throne, but swearing to annihilate all laws, property, and society. I was certain that my readers would neglect all means of self-preservation so long as they were not convinced of their danger. Should the proofs that I have adduced still leave them in doubt as to the reality of the plots of the Sect, I shall have lost my labour; I can but weep over their blindness; they will have already fallen into that state of apathy into which the Sect wishes to plunge them. The less credit my readers shall give to the reality of their plots, the more certain will the conspirators be of success. If then I farther insist, let my instances meet with a candid reception; for, reader, it is your safety and that of the public weal that actuates me.

Let us then suppose, for example, that a person comes to warn you, that you are surrounded by men who, under the cloak of friendship, are only waiting for a favourable moment to execute an old plan which they have contrived of robbing you of your money and property, of firing your habitation, nay farther, perhaps, of butchering your wife, your children, your relations; supposing that the intelligence you have received of such a plot were supported by a thousandth part of the proofs that I have adduced of the plots contriving against your country, and against every state without exception, would you waste that time in idle declamations and superfluous doubts on your dangers, which your perfidious friends were husbanding for your ruin? or would you expect to see persons beseeching you to watch for your own preservation?—Well, I now wish to convince ye, whether princes, nobles, rich, poor, burgesses, merchants, citizens in fine of every class, that all these conspiracies of the sophisticated, masonic, or illuminizing, adepts, are

conspiracies against your persons, against your property, (whether hereditary or mercantile), against your families, your wives and children. Are you wild enough to believe, that while your country is delivered over to the revolutionary conflagration, an exception will be made in your favour, because you inhabit such or such a place, counting-house, or cot? In the universal pillage of the state, shall your property be more sacred than that of your neighbour, and escape the rapacity of the brigands or the requisition of their pentarquies? The characteristic of a revolution made by sectaries is, not that the danger is diminished by its universality, but that terror, indigence, and slavery, rush down like a torrent, swallowing and beating down without distinction every thing that is to be found on its passage.

In the whole progress of the Sect, wherever it has acquired sovereignty, in France, in Holland, in Brabant, in Savoy, in Switzerland, in Italy, search for a single man of property that has preserved it entire; a poor parent that has not had to fear for the requisition of his children, or his own labor; a single family that has not to weep for the loss or ruin of some one of its branches; a single citizen that can lay himself down to rest with the prospect of being able to say, when he awakes, that his property, his liberty, his wife, is any better guaranteed to him, than was that of the unfortunate victims whom he had seen during the day plundered of their property, dragged in chains, or falling under the insatiable guillotine. No, they are not to be found. Cease then, sluggard, to flatter thyself. The danger is imminent, it is terrible, it stares ye all in the face without exception.

Yet sink not under the pressure of terror; that would be cowardice indeed; for, though so positive as to the certainty of your danger, I may boldly say, *Will* it only, and your salvation is certain. I appeal to the Jacobins themselves; for how often have they repeated, that "it is not possible to triumph over a nation that is determined to defend itself." *Will* as they do and you will have little to fear from them. The true Jacobin is not to be discouraged by opposition. The mysteries infuse into the adepts a uniform, constant, and relentless, determination to attain the grand object in spite of every obstacle; that oath, that irrevocable oath of overturning the whole universe and subjecting it to their systems, is the true principle whence originate their resources; this fires the zeal of the adepts, and induces them to make such numerous sacrifices; it inspires its warriors with enthusiasm; it creates rage and fury in the heart of its brigands. It is this principle which constitutes the Sect; in that its force resides; it is the director and mover of its adepts, whether in arms, in the clubs, in the lodges, or deliberating in the senate.—But what inferences may not nations draw from this very principle as to the nature of their plots? Does it not entitle us to say, that the whole of the French revolution is nothing more than the offspring of that oath, of that premeditated determination of overturning the altar, the throne, and society, which the Sect has infused into its adepts? It triumphs because it knows how to *will*; hence it is evident, that to render their efforts abortive we need only resolutely to *will* the salvation of the altar, of the throne, and of society, and they are saved. Let

it not be said, that the Jacobins alone can be steady in their cause and predetermined on their object. To know the evils with which the revolution threatens you, and to determine boldly and resolutely to counteract them, does not certainly dispense us from the obligation of applying to the means and of making the necessary efforts and sacrifices to deliver us from the scourge; yet do not let it be thought, that it is idle in me to insist on that boldness, sincerity, and determination. The French revolution is in its nature similar to our passions and vices: it is generally known, that misfortunes are the natural consequences of indulging them; and one would willingly avoid such consequences: but a faint-hearted resistance is made; our passions and our vices soon triumph, and man is hurried away by them.

But should I, on the contrary, have succeeded in inspiring you with the courage necessary to make you act with resolution; if you need but to know the true means of counteracting the Sect to adopt a firm resistance; then I may boldly say, the Sect is crushed, the disasters of the revolution shall disappear.—But the reader, whose humanity might be alarmed at my saying *the Sect is crushed*, should remember that when I said *the Sect must be crushed or society overthrown*, I took care immediately to add, “Let it, however, be remembered, that to crush a Sect is not to imitate the fury of its apostles, intoxicated with its sanguinary rage and propense to enthusiastic murder.—The Sect is monstrous, but all its disciples are not monsters;—*yes, strike the Jacobins, but spare the Man*; the Sect is a sect of opinion; and its destruction will be doubly complete on the day when it shall be deserted by its disciples, to return to the true principles of reason and social order.”¹ It is to reclaim the unfortunate victims of Jacobinism from their errors, and to restore them to society, not to butcher them, that I have been so long examining and tracing all the tortuous windings of the Sect; and I am overjoyed to see that such weapons for self-preservation are the natural result of these memoirs. How different are these arms from those with which the Sect has provided its disciples.

The Jacobins have seduced nations by means of a subterraneous warfare of illusion, error, and darkness. Let the honest men oppose them with wisdom, truth, and light.

The Jacobins are waging against Princes and Governments a war of hatred of the laws and of social order, a war of rage and destruction; let a war of society, humanity, and self-preservation, be waged against them.

The Jacobins are waging a war of impiety and corruption against the altars and religion of every nation; let morality, virtue, and repentance, be opposed to them.

I explain:—when I speak of a subterraneous warfare of illusion, error, and darkness waged by the Sect, I allude to the productions of its sophisters, to the artifices of its emissaries, and to the mysteries of its clubs, lodges, and secret societies. It would be useless to contest the point; for we have incontrovertibly demonstrated, that those have been the preparatory means for its revolutionary triumphs. It is by such means that Jacobinism has insinuated itself under the specious forms of a disorganizing Equality and Liberty, or of a chimerical

Sovereignty of the People, which has ever been the cant of those factious tribunes, who, by flattering their pride, sought to enslave that same people. It is by retailing all the sophisticated doctrines of the Rights of Man to the multitude, by violent declamations against the existing laws, by captious and fallacious descriptions of a supposed happiness which they are preparing for us, by urging nations on to *certain essays at least*; by such means do the emissaries of Jacobinism seduce nations, and imperiously sway that public opinion which will sooner level your ramparts than all the artillery that they can bring against them. From such incontestable facts I conclude, that if it be your intention to guard against the misfortunes which have befallen France, you must begin by disarming the Sect of all its means of illusion. Snatch from the hands of the people all those incendiary productions; but when I say people, I mean from every class of society; for I know none that are proof against illusion; more particularly would I say, from that class which has been supposed to have been most abundant in learning, that class of literary sophisters, such as our Voltaires, D'Alemberts, Rousseaus, Diderots, our academicians, and our doctrineers of the reading societies; for this is the class of all others that has shown us the example of the powerful illusion of sophistry. It was from this class that the revolutionary ministers Necker and Turgot started up; from this class arose those grand revolutionary agents, the Mirabeaux, Syeyes, Laclos, Condorcets; those revolutionary trumps, the Brissots, Champforts, Garats, Merciers, Pastorets, Gudins, La Metheries, Lalandes, Cheniers; those revolutionary butchers, the Carras, Frérons, Marats; I will also say of that class of advocates so verbose and fertile in delirium; for from among them sprung the Targets, Camus, Treillards, Barreres, and all the tyrants of the revolution, the Reveillère-Lepaux, Reubels, Merlins, and Robespierres. What have all these men proved, whether taken from the academies or from the bar?—that if they were the persons whose talents enable them to represent all this sophistry of impiety, of sedition, and rebellion, in the most seducing colours, they were also the persons that were most easily imbued with and drank most deeply of the poison; they were at once the most readily tainted and the most eager to taint others. No; I can make no exception of classes; none are entitled to an exception when I exclaim to Magistrates and Sovereigns, Will you save the people from the disasters of the French Revolution? then snatch from their hands those incendiary productions, those libels of impiety and sedition. Let that man be punished as a traitor, who writes and circulates such writings, conscious of the injury he is doing to society; let him meet with the fate of a madman, if he thinks he can seduce, and stop the consequences of seduction.

But I hear clamours on all sides arising in the literary world, of intolerance, of tyranny, of cramping genius! I foresaw that I should have to treat with men lukewarm in the cause, saying they were determined, nevertheless unwilling; saying they detested the revolution, but timorous when it is to be crushed in the germ. But you at least who profess to enlighten nations by your writings, to point out maxims to Princes for the happiness of their people, you who demonstrate the goodness of your intentions by the purity of your

principles, by your zeal in defence of the laws, by the wisdom of your writings, is it from you, I ask, that such cries arise? No, no: shackles thrown on the venomous writer circulating his poisons, will never give concern to the honest writer; against laws prohibiting poignards none will rebel but the assassin. Let us no longer be led away by the stale cries of Liberty of the Press, Liberty of Genius; such cries in the mouths of the Jacobins will be but a shallow cover to their designs;—see what the Sect does itself, lest any writer should open the eyes of the people by the exposition of real truth; wherever the adepts have acquired dominion, ask what is to be understood by liberty of thinking, of speaking, of writing. They destroy not only the author, but seller and even buyer of every book that combats their systems. The printing presses of Crapard, the publications of La Harpe, or the discourse of Camille du Jourdan, are so many conspiracies punished by the Pentarques with exile to Cayenne. It is high time for nations to open their eyes, and dispel the illusion of all this pretended oppression of thought and genius. If magistrates are the dupes of such outcries, the people are the victims, and nations must be preserved from the illusion that they may be saved from the revolution. It is the act of a father and not of a tyrant, that takes from the hands of its children such instruments as may prove fatal to them.

Let the sophister talk of useful discussions. Go to antiquity, and question the Roman senate why it drove from the soil of the republic that swarm of Sophists² just arrived from the Grecian shores, so expert in the quibbling arts; and the senate will answer, that they do not enter into discussions to know whether the plague is useful, that they hasten to separate from their fellow countrymen whoever has been tainted with it, and to destroy whatever may propagate it. Guard the people, therefore, against such vile seducers; tremble at the effects of their discourses; but fear still more the poisons of their impious and seditious productions.

Your laws pronounce death against a traitor, though he betrayed his conspiracy but by a single word; and a conspiring sophister may commune and habitually converse with all your subjects by means of his writings! He is in the midst of your families; he instils his principles into your children; his arguments become more and more cogent; he dwells on them; they are presented under all the dazzling colours that a perfidious genius could invent after a long study how to seduce your offspring, lead them astray, or stir them up to revolt against you! The treason spoken by the Jacobin, and for which he has been punished, may have made but a slight impression on his hearers; but this laboured and studied concatenation of sophisms will make a deep impression. Your laws must be inefficient indeed if the revolutionary writer is not stamped as the most baneful of conspirators; and, Magistrate! whoever you are, you must be most unmindful of your duty, if you allow his writings to circulate freely through town and country.

Are you still a stranger to the immense power that such productions have given to the Sect?—The revolution has not been ungrateful, and its gratitude points out its progenitors. Follow the Jacobin to the pantheon; see to whom

he has decreed honours, to whom he does homage; ask him how Voltaire or Jean Jaques can have deserved such tribute, such honours. He will tell you, that those men are no more, but that their spirit has survived them in their writings, and more powerfully combat for the cause of Jacobinism than all their armed legions. Here they prepare the minds and hearts of the people for our principles; there they gain over the public opinion to our cause; and when once that has declared for us, we may boldly proceed to certain triumph. Should such honours dazzle any writer for an instant, let him stop and behold the shades of the victims sacrificed to the revolution flitting round the monuments erected to these revolutionary deities; see them ghastly and enraged, passing from the urn that contains the ashes of Voltaire to that of Rousseau; hear them exclaim in bitter reproaches, "Be satiated with the fumes of Jacobin incense! It is not on Jacobins that we call down vengeance from heaven, for you were our real murderers! You are now the object of their adoration; but you were our first executioners, you brought our King to the scaffold, you still continue to be the butchers of our progeny.—O ye Idols of blasphemy and of anarchy! may their blood, may our blood, may all the blood that shall be spilt by the brigands formed at your schools, fall back upon you!"

Ye whom the God of society has endowed with talents which you may turn to the detriment or conservation of society, beware that such curses do not fall upon you, flee from any thing that may breed remorse. Be not dazzled with the jacobinical tribute paid to these sophisters of darkness; they may have succeeded in obscuring the light; it is your duty to rend the cloud asunder, and bear in triumph the fundamental truths. The God who formed man for society did not give him the code of Equality and Liberty, the code of Rebellion and Anarchy. The God who supports society by the wisdom of the laws, never abandoned the making or sanctioning of those laws to the caprice of the multitude. The God who has pointed out the empire and stability of the laws as inherent to that subordination of the citizens to the magistrates, and to their sovereigns, did not create as many magistrates and sovereigns as he did citizens. The God that has bound all classes together by their mutual wants, and who, in consequence of this diversity of wants, has endowed men with a variety of talents for different arts and professions, has not given the same rights to the mechanic or to the shepherd as he has to the prince that is to preside over the state. Restore to these simple and plain truths, all that resplendency which has for a moment been obscured by the sophisters of rebellion; and the dangers of the revolution will soon disappear. Be as earnest in restoring the people to light, as the Jacobins have been in plunging them into darkness. Restore them to their principles pure and untarnished. There is no compounding with error; the Sect cares not by which road illusion may lead you to revolution, provided you do but fall a victim. Some it will attack with its anti-religious sophisms, while it tampers with others by means of its antisocial sophistry. To some it will unfold but a part of the consequences to be drawn, point out but one half of the career that is to be run, or, under pretence of reform, propose some few essays or new means to be tried. But

far be driven from us these demi-geniuses or demi-revolutions with their long train of demi-consequences! This is the tribe whence the Sect will select a La Fayette or a Necker, push them forward as long as they can serve the cause, and then abandon such non-entities; or those open rebels styling themselves *Constitutionalists*, or those others called (probably through derision) *Monarchists*. They were the beginners of the revolution, and are at this present day imbecile enough to testify their surprize at other rebels having shivered a sceptre which they had begun by disjoining. Writers of this species, so far from enlightening the people, only contribute to lead them into the path of error; and that was the task of the first revolutionary adepts.

In your writings beware of falling into an error similar to that of a celebrated author, who thinks he is serving the cause of monarchy when describing religion as a fruitless ally. How is it possible that he should not better feel the consequences of that sarcastic sentence borrowed from Bayle and Rousseau, he who, in the midst of the most pressing and most apposite exhortations to princes to unite and combine against Jacobinism, forgets himself so far as to say, "In a similar crisis, the Romans would have flown to arms resolved to conquer or die, *the primitive Christians would have sung hymns to Providence and rushed to martyrdom*; their successors neither die nor fight."³ Most undoubtedly, it cannot be the intention of the author to revive that contempt which the Sophisters so much affect for Religion; but what a false policy to represent that alledged nullity as inherent to Christianity at a time when the courage of nations should be stirred up against the revolutionary tyrants! Happily it is not true, that the primitive Christians would only have sung hymns to Providence and rushed on to martyrdom. The primitive Christians were not idiots; they did not confound the legitimate powers, which they could only oppose by the courage of martyrs, with the usurped power of a tyrant or of barbarians that came to inundate the empire. They could only conquer or die under the standard of the Cæsars as manfully as the Romans; nay, they surpassed them in courage and resignation, and their apologists were well grounded when they set the Sophisters at defiance to point out a single coward or traitor among the Christian legions. In our days too, did those heroic Christians of the Vendee content themselves with singing hymns, they whose courage was more terrible to the republicans than all the combined forces of Clairfait or Beaulieu? Where have we seen any of our emigrants that have distinguished themselves by their piety, chanting hymns to Providence during the hour of battle. Whence this triple insult to the Christian hero, to his religion, and to the very evidence of reason? Whence this affectation of representing the powerful and active incitements of Christianity as useless to governments? Is not the crown of a soldier dying for laws or for his king, which his God commands him to defend, as valuable as your laurel-wreath? Tell then the Christian soldier, that the coward and the traitor shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven, and see whether he will not conquer or die. You think that you are serving the cause of society against Jacobinism by representing Christianity as imbecility. Jacobins would reward

such sarcastic sentences, because they foresee their consequences. Are our writers then to be always outwitted by theirs; they can combine their efforts against the altar and the throne; and shall we never be able to defend the one without betraying the interests of the other?

What can be the cause of such imprudence, such false lights? Neither do they study sufficiently the Sect nor its artifices. They wish to be blind to its power, and even to its influence. I also am an admirer of the vigor of that same writer, who seeks to stir up the courage of nations; but should he mistake the real causes of our misfortunes, what have we not to fear from writers who are endowed neither with his knowledge nor his energy? Will not the Sect rejoice to hear him say, "it is far more to that continental fatalism than to the Illuminees, that we are to attribute the lethargy of the higher orders of society?" I know not what *continental* or insular *fatalism* can signify. God forbid that Princes should for an instant believe in it, for it would only be immersing them still deeper in their lethargy. No efforts are made against fatality; I know, at least, that the Illuminees would rejoice to see no credit given to their existing influence; for the less they shall be feared in consequence of your writings, fewer will be the precautions taken to guard against them. I am positive, that had you studied one half of the arts employed by the Insinulators to seduce the higher classes, and even courts themselves, you would be the first to find a very different cause than *fatalism* for the continental lethargy.⁴

Far be from me the absurd pretension of alone enjoying the means of giving useful counsels. It is, on the contrary, because I wish that the public should be improved by yours, that I am eager to see you better informed of the real cause of all our misfortunes. I could wish to see a holy league formed of such men of talents as are really actuated with a true zeal against the revolutionary errors. My reader has seen the baneful effects of that coalition of the sophisticated writers of Holbach's Club, of the Sophisters of the Masonic and of the Illuminized Lodges; he has seen the influence of their principles on the public opinion, and of opinion on our misfortunes; why should not virtuous and learned writers then unite in their efforts to bring back the public opinion and the people to the true principles, by laying open all the artifice and cunning that has been employed by the Sect to seduce them.

The Code has been explicit on the means to be employed for the seduction of youth, a time of life most accessible to illusion. Will not virtuous fathers taken upon themselves to discard from their children masters of suspicious characters, and books that disseminate these poisons? Will not governments take as much pains to drive the adepts from the pulpit, from the chairs of science and professorships, as we have seen the Sect taking to make itself master of education and to corrupt youth. Unhappy we, should the reader be affrighted at the detail of such precautions, while the Sect attends to each particularity, and we have seen it as eager for the nomination of a country schoolmaster, as for the success of an adept at court, or the nomination of the general who is to command its legions.

One species of illusion appears to be the favorite engine of Jacobinism, I mean that theory of essays in government, and those demi-reforms. No art has been more powerfully played off on the English nation than this; let the people be put on their guard against this illusion; let them be taught, that France also began by essays and demi-reforms; I need not hint at their consequences. If it be necessary to humble the pride of the Jacobin Sophister, and blight the very idea of that pretended happiness which they attach to their systems, let the people learn that such essays have long since been made; that the brigands who appeared under the different denominations of Lollards, Begards, followers of John Wall, of Maillotin, and of Muncer, all promised the supreme happiness of Equality and Liberty; that it was perfectly useless to talk to us of the *Philosophy* of a revolution that was nothing more than the repetition of the errors of certain Sects, of which the barbarous and devastating tenets could only be equalled by the horror and contempt in which they were held by our ancestors. When, under the pretence of arguing on certain truths the Jacobin seeks to lead you into discussion, guard against his sophistry, by answering, that no argumentation can be held with Weishaupt or Robespierre; the first will retail all the arguments of former brigands, the latter does what they did; for if our modern Jacobins have invented anything of their own, it is a little more artifice and an unparralleled ferocity. They are then the more entitled to our contempt and hatred.

If every where encountered by this two-fold sentiment, the Sect will soon lose that power of illusion which has prepared its triumphs, and you will see it shrinking back into its subterraneous lurking places, the occult Lodges which have so long since offered it an asylum. There it will once more attempt to recruit its legions, and contrive plots for the subversion of the altar, of the throne, and of society. But here what honest citizen can be blind to his duty? Under whatever name, pretence, or form, the magistracy may have thought proper to tolerate these clubs, subterraneous hiding-places, or Lodges of secret societies, what proofs are they waiting for to proscribe them all, now that they have seen legions of conspirators sallying forth from these recesses? You who look upon yourselves as entitled to an honourable exception, why are you seated there still? You are tender of your personal loyalty, of your fidelity to your religion and to your country, how can you make such sentiments agree with your predilection for Lodges that you know to have been the asylum of the most conspiring Sects? Do not pretend that it is us, for it is the Jacobins, the most monstrous chiefs of the Jacobins, their correspondence, their speeches, and all the archives of their history, that have unfolded to you the immense support they have derived from your mysteries and from all your *secret societies*, in the prosecution of their conspiracies against *society in general*, against all laws, and against every altar. In vain shall you attempt to hide it; no part of history can be better authenticated; these conspiracies are proved at any rate to have gained admittance into your Lodges, and to have acquired strength and numbers from them. Your particular Lodge may not be one of those with whose honor the Sect has tampered; we are willing to

believe it; but what proofs can you adduce? the Sect knows too well how to clothe perjury in the garb of innocence.—We are willing to believe it, and that will be another motive why we should conjure you in the name of your country to abandon those Lodges. Your presence is only a cloak for conspirators. The more unblemished may be your character of honor, the more will the conspiring adepts boast of your name, and of the fraternity and intimacy in which you live with them.—We address our complaints to you yourselves, but own that we have sufficient grounds to address them to the prince or to the senate; may we not with truth denounce you as demi-citizens, since by your oath the interests of the brotherhood are more dear to you than those of your fellow-subjects? Are we not entitled to ask, whether you are not a secret enemy to every citizen who has the interests of religion and his country at heart, since you are a member of a secret society, under the cloak of which a multitude of brethren are conspiring against our religion and our laws, and that it is impossible to distinguish the innocent from the guilty. What right would you have to complain if the senate and your prince were to exclude you from the magistracy, or from every office that requires the whole attention of an impartial citizen, and on whom no suspicion can alight, as it appears that your affection is at least divided between society in general and your secret societies, as that affection, according to your own laws, must be greater for the members of your secret societies than for us; since, in short, it has been demonstrated, that a large portion of the members of secret societies are mere conspirators? In vain will you object that you have never witnessed any thing reprehensible in the Lodges. Were you only initiated in the mysteries of the Grand Lodge of London, know, that notwithstanding all the exceptions we have made in its favor, suspicions are even cast upon that Lodge, and a reviewer thinks himself founded in denying the validity of such exceptions.⁵ If you are so careless of your reputation as to remain insensible to such suspicions, allow me at least to address myself to you in the name of all mankind, whose interests you tell us are so dear to you.

No longer than a century ago the remaining part of Europe was nearly a stranger to your Lodges and their mysteries. You made it the baneful present; the new-erected Lodges have filled with Jacobins, and from them the most disastrous scourge that has ever befallen the universe has rushed forth to produce these terrible effects; you imparted to them the mysteries of your Equality and of your Liberty; to combine and prepare them, you introduced them into your tenebrous asylums; to prepare their pupils, you taught them your trials and your oaths; and that they might propagate their conspiracies from pole to pole, you lent them your language, your symbols, your signs, your cypher, your directories, your hierarchy, and all the regulations for your invisible correspondence. The offspring may have improved on the mysteries of their progenitors; but has not their conduct been such as to make you abjure all connection with them; have not your Lodges been so prophaned as to make you hasten to abandon them; is not the disastrous scourge that has burst from them a sufficient ground for eternally closing their gates? O you,

whose fleets, under the protection of heaven, ride triumphant over the main, dispelling the fleets of the Sect! O grant the universe a victory, perhaps of still greater importance. At the sight of your admirals the Sect disappears; drive then from its recesses that bantling of yours; show that if the abuse of your mysterious associations may in possibility be fatal to the universe, you are willing at least to deprive the vile conspirators of every plea that can tarnish your glory. Show, that if sports, innocent in your hands, could grow into a scourge in the hands of others, you are not backward in making a sacrifice of such utility to nations. Your example would be powerful; and it is incumbent on you to pronounce the anathema on secret societies; to close the gates of the Lodges, to close them all without exception, nevermore to be opened, whatever may be the nature of their mysteries. None can exist into which the Sect will not attempt to penetrate; none can exist where the magistrate and honest citizen can sit down certain that the Sect has not intruded with its plots and means of seduction. The more zealous you may be for the preservation of our laws, the less will you be enabled to secure us against the plots of the Sect; for though it shall ever commune with you it will not lay its views open to you until it has seduced you. Masons of England, what a fatal gift you have made to the world! May the historian who shall write the annals of this age, when speaking of the scourge that has rushed forth from the Lodges, conclude by saying, if England made the baneful present to the universe, it was also the first to sacrifice its own Lodges for the safety of nations.

Why should not every honest Mason on the Continent address himself in terms similar to those in which we address the English brotherhood? Their presence would no longer be a cloak to the Mysteries of the conspiring Jacobins. Left to themselves, they could no longer plead the innocence of their Mysteries. If the Magistrates treated them with all the severity of the law, he would not have to fear the protests of honest citizens. Then would every thing denote that the time was come to strike all secret societies with the anathema of the laws; then would all the productions of the Sect be suppressed, or thrown away with indignation by every class of citizen. True principles only would be taught, and these would discard from the minds of the people all those disorganizing errors. The Sect once dislodged from its lurking places, truth and light would dispel that warfare of illusion, error, and darkness, which, waged by the Sophisters of Jacobinism, prepares the way for the triumphant entry of its destroying brigands.

But that long-expected day, that day of devastation and plunder foretold in the Mysteries, has dawned. In darkness have the adepts multiplied, and the legions of the Sect have sallied forth. They now wage the war of pikes and destruction, they wave the firebrands of revolution, but have not abandoned the warfare of illusion. Sovereigns and Ministers of Empires! It behoves you to stem the torrent of these men of blood by the marshalled bands of heroes whom you command. I do not pretend to step over the threshold of the chamber where our warriors sit in council to deliberate on the means of vanquishing the Sect in the field of battle. But, to ensure the success of your

valorous efforts, may we intrude on your wisdom, to represent that force should not attract your entire attention? The Jacobin is no common enemy. He wages a war of Sect, of proselytism against you; and Sects are not to be vanquished by the same arms as warriors waging a glorious war, or brigands rushing forth from their ungrateful shores in quest of pillage and booty. The seat of conflict lies in opinions. The Jacobin has all the enthusiasm of the Sectary, and has also the force of arms; that you may overpower his arms, you should know the object of his delirium.

I began by declaring, and think I have established the position, that in this warfare of pikes and firebrands the Sect sends forth its legions to shiver the scepter, not to fight the power; it has not promised to its adepts the crowns of Princes, Kings, and Emperors, but has required and bound those adepts by an oath to destroy them all. In the Sovereign, it is not the person that they hate; but it is the chief, the Minister of the Social Order. The war it wages against a nation is of a similar complexion; it is that war of opinion, which hates, not the Englishman, but the laws of the English, which abominates not the German, the Spaniard, or the Italian, but the God, the Altars, the Thrones, the Senates of the German, the Spaniard, or the Italian, in short, of every people. Do not suffer yourself to be misled; the Pentarques will certainly attempt to warp these plans and plots of the Sect, and make them subservient to their own ambition; but have not the mysteries taught us, that the elevation of an Orleans, a Barras, or a Rewbel to the throne, never entered the mind of the adepts when they murdered their lawful Sovereign? It may support its tyrannic Pentarques in the destruction of kings and governments, but it will crush these tyrants in their turn, when they shall have completed the destruction of society. It is not a new Empire that they are seeking to establish; it is at the annihilation of every Empire, of all order, rank, distinction, property, and social tie, that they aim. Such is the Ultimate View of its mysteries of Equality and Liberty. Such is that reign of anarchy and absolute independence, proclaimed in the subterraneous lurking-places, under the appellations of patriarchal reign, of the reign of Reason and of Nature.

Sovereigns, Ministers, You who watch for the safety of the subject! Is it clear to you why we so much insist on this general and predominating hatred as the sole principle and object of this terrible war? Because it immediately points out that it behoves you to combat this relentless foe by an ardour and zeal for the universal maintenance of social order; because now it is more than ever incumbent on you to cast aside all ideas of personal interest, that might counteract the general efforts; because, were it possible that the interests of the Sect could for a moment coincide with yours, it would be only a duty that you would fulfil in suspending those mutual resentments or national jealousies that have but too long nurtured enmities and bloodshed; because much woe will befall you, if you be imprudent enough to think but for an instant that you can either make the principles or the legions of the Sect the instruments of your vengeance, or of your personal views; for the power you put in motion shall soon fall back upon you.

I am not one of those who thought that they could trace such a kind of policy in the first motions of the French revolution, pretending that foreign powers had abetted the Jacobins with a view, if not to crush, at least to weaken the ancient and powerful fabric of the French monarchy. I have probed the strength of the Sect when it rushed from its dens. But let it not be overlooked by history; let the terrible example of that man who was held out as one of the greatest politicians of the age, be ever present to the eyes of sovereigns. The Sect began to demonstrate the first elements of its Code of Equality, Liberty, and Sovereignty of the People; baneful policy ordered La Fayette, D'Estaing, and Rochambeau, to proceed to the succour of a colony asserting its sovereignty against its mother country. I do not pretend to discuss the rights of London or of Philadelphia; but let the minister, the politician Vergennes rise from his grave, he who in America would make, and in Holland abet, revolutions of the people equal and free; let him look to the throne, or seek the sovereign whose interests he thought to serve when using the Sect as an engine of state!! Let the minister of Joseph II, I mean, Mercy D'Argenteau, come forth; let him behold to what an end the services of the sovereign populace would lead which he was about to assemble in Brabant, or the services of *those pretended friends to the public safety*, in other words, of the *emissaries* of the Sect, already omnipotent in Paris, or of those Jacobins that he would receive and support, that he might oppress through the means of anarchy.⁶ No, the Sect that has sworn to shiver every sceptre will not avenge any quarrels of yours, or prove a support in danger. Banish then every idea of alliance or union with its principles and means! it can never lose sight of its Ultimate End; and if it should affect to make a common cause with you in the annihilation of the throne that gives you umbrage, it will only be that it may find you standing alone and destitute of allies when it shall turn back upon you.

To renounce such temporary and disastrous services can be no great sacrifice. When the common enemy of society rears its head, is it not the duty of the chiefs of society to forget all private quarrels, and unite in combating so formidable a foe? Every step gained against it, will be a step gained for yourself, for your people, and for that portion of society over which you preside. Still farther from your mind be all those ideas of cold œconomy, calculating the sacrifices or efforts you will have to make, or the indemnities you may claim! When the house that joins your palace is in flames, do you think yourself safe because you have not contributed to the conflagration? Or do you enquire what reward is offered for extinguishing the flames? More wildly avaricious, would you think of pillaging that house while the flames were communicating to your own? Save the universe, and you save your own empire. Every throne beat down by the Jacobin, reduces an obstacle that he has to encounter in the attack of yours. Will the arsenals he shall pillage, will the requisitions of men, and legions raised, in the newly-conquered states, ensure the indemnities you ask; or do you expect, by complacency, flattery, and meanness, to have an exception made in your favour? Can you hope to

see the Pentarques always preserving their neutrality in your regard, because for the moment they are pleased not to demand any farther sacrifices from you? Or, when you desert the common cause, will you ground your security on treaties of peace, or even on treaties of alliance offensive and defensive? O virtue! what desertion of the common cause! O shame! O cowardice! No, the very idea of such treaties could never have entered your mind, had you been acquainted with the Sect that proposes them. You have signed them; but you do not enjoy peace, not even a neutrality. You are its slave. You are only the mouth-piece of its imperious dictates, until the Sect shall choose to strip you of even the semblance of authority.—You will tell us, perhaps, that you have been neuter in the contest; that is to say, you have not dared to attack the Jacobin that only waits to drag you into slavery till he shall have crushed those with whom you should have leagued, and who could have defended you or avenged your death.—You have lived in peace with the common enemy of society! You have sworn to abandon society to be butchered, thrones to be annihilated, and sceptres to be shivered; and this without showing the least resistance.—Have you made treaties of alliance? then you have sworn to support the destroying hords, and to contribute towards the destruction and devastation of society.

You are sensible as we are of the shame, of the ignominy, of such a neutrality, peace, or alliance.—But a superior force commands....Then say that you are vanquished, that you are a slave to the Sect, and we shall then ask, if on no occasion a valiant death be preferable to slavery? Is that throne saved, around which you still hover, by permission of the Sect, merely as the mouth-piece of its commands? Are your people saved, who are obliged to sully their hands with the crimes inherent to Jacobins? Is that slave free, who, chained to the bench of the gallies, can only handle his oars in the service of a pirate? If you still preserve any glimmerings of Liberty, if your strength be not entirely exhausted, rise, Oh! rise once more, and fight the battles of society!—Could you still be led astray by that flirting semblance of authority which the Sect has allowed you, hearken to Jean de Brie, proposing in the name of the Sect, in the midst of its legislators, to raise a legion of *twelve hundred assassins*, and to send them, not to kill *one* king, but to *murder every king*! Did not those legislators announce to you in terms sufficiently clear the fate which they intended for you and your people, when they declared that they would *fraternize* with every nation that wished to shake off its laws or rise against its magistrates and sovereign?⁷ Would you wish to persuade yourself that there exists a single king who is not comprehended within the revolutionary proscription, go and assist at the annual celebration of the festival held by the Sect in honour of the murderers of their king; go and hearken to their constituted authorities, and to the ambassadors whom they send to the neutral or allied Powers, all solemnly swearing the oath of hatred to royalty. You have seen the adepts teaching in the universities, that but a few more years will elapse before the last mysteries of the Sect shall be accomplished; then neither king nor magistrate shall exist, nor a single nation, country, or society

governed by laws. And with such a prospect before you, do you still hesitate at throwing aside petty jealousies and personal interests? Shall pretensions, mistrusts, and enmities, between king and king, or nation and nation, disunite you, when society calls upon you for the defence not only of your own crown, but of every crown, not only of your own nation but of every nation wherever laws are recognized?

It is not yet too late. Nations are still more powerful than the Sect; let then every nation unite; let their kings, their senates, their people, join in the common cause; let every man living in the state of society consider the warfare waged by the Sect against society and property as aimed at his own person. Shall the heart of the Jacobin alone be inflamed by the fire of enthusiasm? Shall the desolation of your country, the destruction of your altars, of your laws, of your fortunes, the devastation of your towns and mansions, the tearing away of your children, not rouse you from your lethargy? Shall not such sights inspire you with courage, are they not inducements for sacrifices as powerful at least as the enthusiasm of delirium in the Jacobin? Shall it still continue to be said, that the Brigands alone know the power and strength of union? Every where they are one; they have but one object in view; they all serve but one and the same cause; they are brethren wherever they meet, merely because they universally aim at the destruction of the social order. May chiefs of nations then unite in one common tie of affection; for it is the common interest of all and each of them to preserve that social order. Such would be my definition of a war of zeal for society, a war entirely directed against the Sect, and the only means of depriving it of those resources which it may have but too plentifully drawn from politicians hacknied in wars of vengeance, jealousy, and ambition, but little accustomed to the idea of such sacrifices as wars for the general interest of society may require.

When I thus wish to stir up all nations to make but one power, but one nation in the common cause; when I thus wish to see them all actuated by the same zeal and ardor for combating the Sect; the reader may be tempted to ask me, what is become of the war of humanity, of self-preservation, that I wished to see opposed to that warfare of fury, destruction, and of sanguinary rage against society? Doubtless, it must afflict me thus to sound the general alarm, which calls your embattled legions into the field of Mars; but when we behold those of the Sect nurtured on blood and carnage; when thousands and hundreds of thousands of citizens, whose sluggish tranquillity and aversion to resistance could not save them from falling victims; when women, aged parents, and even children, have been butchered so recently in the mountains of Switzerland, just as they had been before in the fields of La Vendée and in divers parts of France; when in every country into which the Sect can penetrate, the inhabitants must either bend the knee to adore the idol, or perish beneath the pikes; who will be the true friend to humanity? Will that man set himself down for a friend to humanity, and as having preserved society, who would let the armies of the Sect successively proceed from Brabant into Holland, from Savoy into Switzerland, from Piedmont into the

Milanois, and from thence to Rome, every where overturning social order, because the Sect every where met but with a feeble and partial resistance? Which then shall be the true friend to humanity, the man who permits the scourge to extend and ravage all Europe, or he who excites you to crush the germ of such horrors? Will the preserver of your life be the man who, fearing to probe your wound, shall let mortification engender in your flesh; or he who, employing the caustic or the blade, shall consume or amputate the decayed part to preserve the body? Had the counsellors of such a cruel humanity foreseen that a Sect whose empire is terror, whose means are those of brigands and assassins, was not to be overpowered by their perfidious complaisance, what horrors and what rivers of blood would have been spared; what numberless citizens has that reign of terror chained to the standards of the Sect, citizens even who abhorred it! And what numbers would have joined your standard, in defiance of the reign of terror, had they seen you waging a war against the Sect, and not a war of ambition. I never assisted at the councils of princes, and am willing to believe that my fellow-countrymen have formed an erroneous judgement, and that the reports of partitioning and of ambitious views may even have originated with the Sect, since it acquires such empire through its means; that error has recruited the ranks of the Sect with soldiers whose courage and lives would have been at your disposal, had you found means of convincing them that you had fled to arms solely to vindicate the cause of monarchy, of their religion, and of their laws; had they not been led to think, that between two enemies they were obliged to repulse that which was coming, not to defend them, but to profit of their dissensions, and deliver up their country to pillage, or make them share the fate of Venice or Poland! Deprive the Jacobins of this vain pretext; let every people that groans under the bondage of the Sect learn from your candid declarations, supported by your deeds, that you only come as their saviour and liberator, that your legions have no other object in view than the restoring of them to the blessings of social order.

But whither am I wandering, and what was I about to promise? Shall the fate of my country, the destiny of empires, solely depend on the strength of armies? There is a war far more terrible than that of brigands, which the Sect wages against us. The amazing progress of impiety, the corruption of morals, and general apostacy of an age styling itself the age of Philosophy; these are the real arms of the Sect, the grand source of all our misfortunes. Ye who may be affrighted at these truths because they may affect you more particularly, turn back to the causes of our misfortunes, and you will trace them all to this apostacy.

Infuriate as a demoniac of blasphemy, a disastrous Sophister exclaimed, I will not serve, my Reason shall be free. The God of Revelation may persecute me, but I will persecute him, I will raise a school against him, I will surround myself with conspiring adepts, I will say to them *Crush the Wretch*—Crush J—C—. This school was established on the earth; kings and great men applauded the doctrines of this demoniac; they relished them

because they flattered and unbridled their passions. This was the first step towards the revolution. Do not come and plague me with idle representations; turn to the archives of the impious man whom thou hast idolized; there are my proofs. Princes, Nobles, Lords, or Knights, such was the crime, I will not say of each of you in particular, but so predominant among you, that I may in some sort call it the crime of your corps. The ministers of God whom you abandoned admonished you of the scourges with which apostates are threatened, and told you that your example would be fatal to your people as well as to yourselves. Do you remember how their menaces were received? Attend for a moment to the acts of that school which you set up in opposition to us. Heaven, in its wrath, has permitted the offspring of the sophisters to multiply like unto the locusts. They thought themselves the Gods of Reason; they also raised their voices, declaring that they would not serve; but, turning their eyes toward you, they added, oppression and tyranny has placed men like unto us upon thrones; chance of birth has made men Nobles and Grandees who are not so good as ourselves. They said it; and that Liberty which you asserted against your God, when stimulated by your passions, they now assert against you at the instigation of their pride. They conspire against the throne and the nobility that surrounds it. Abandoned to your blindness, you courteously received this cloud of sophisters, just as you had received their progenitor. The priests of the living God came once more and admonished you, that this school of impiety would not only operate the ruin of the church, but sweep away into the common mass of ruin Kings, Princes, Laws, and Magistrates. Reason called as loudly on you as your priests; but you had turned away from Revelation, and you refused to hearken to the voice of reason.

The God whom you daily irritated by your apostacy permitted this cloud of Sophisters to descend into the abyss of the Lodges, and there, under pretence of Masonic pursuits, the occult adepts combined their conspiracies against the altar, the throne, and all distinctions, with those of the pretended sages whose dupes you had been.—The adepts now multiplied as fast as the Sophisters. Under the auspices of another pretended Sage, who could improve on every species of impiety and blasphemy, a new Sect is fostered under the name of Illuminees. These, like the hero of your apostacy, swore to crush Christ, as his offspring swore to crush you yourselves; and, in common with all brigands, swore to annihilate the empire of the laws.—Such has been the fruit of that Philosophism which you would so obstinately portray as true wisdom. At length to dissipate the illusion, and to call you back to the faith of his Gospel, far more than to avenge himself, what has your God done? He has silenced his prophets and the doctors of his law; he has said to them, “Discontinue those lessons with which you combat the delirium of these impious men. They raise their Reason up against me; it is my Son whom they have sworn to crush. They wish to reign alone over that people. They have taken upon themselves the important task of leading them to true happiness; I will let them act; I abandon that people to the wisdom of their new teachers.

You, my priests and pontiffs, fly from amidst them, carry away with you the Gospel of my Son. Let their sages beat down his altars; let them raise trophies in his temples to their heroes who had sworn to crush him; and let that people proceed under the sole direction of the light of their Reason. Begone, retire; together with my Son I abandon both the people and their grandees to their sages; let those sages be their leaders, since they turn their backs upon me and my Son."

Frenchmen, the God of your forefathers has thus spoken. Oh, how deeply and easily can he confound *the prudence of prudent men and the wisdom of sages!* Go; proceed through that vast empire which he has abandoned to your pretended Philosophy. His priests have abandoned it; his altars are beaten down; his gospel is no longer to be found. Now calculate the crimes and disasters!! Go and wander among those ruins, behold those mazes and shapeless heaps of rubbish. Ask of the people, what is become of those millions of citizens that formerly thronged in their towns and fields; inquire what inundation of Vandals has devastated their land. What has been the fate of that town, that proudly towered in magnificent palaces, or those other towns, the modern rivals of ancient Tyre? By what means have those riches dwindled into nothing, that were annually brought from the shores of the east or the Isles of the west. Those notes of mirth, those rural songs, why have they given place to groans and complaints? Why is that brow, formerly the seat of content, now knitted and downcast with terror; and why those sighs, that even the fear of being heard cannot suppress! All you inhabitants of France, who were formerly so happy under the laws of your forefathers, but at present victims to all the horrors of the revolution, have you not among ye its Philosophers, the wisdom of its Deists, of its Atheists, and of its Philanthropists? And you in particular, the disciples, and for a long time the zealous protectors of all these revolutionary sages, how comes it to pass that you are now dispersed on the face of all Europe, poor and deserted? Is not that Philosophy which you so much idolized now triumphant in the very centre of its empire?

Ah, how bitter would be such language in the mouth of a God but too well revenged! Unhappy victims of your confidence in these false sages! You now conceive how terrible it is to be abandoned to the empire of impiety! Confess at last, that your credulity, your confidence in these heroes of Sophistry has been disastrous indeed! They promised you a revolution of wisdom, of light, of virtue; and they have cursed you with a revolution of delirium, of extravagance, and wickedness. They promised you a revolution of happiness, Equality, Liberty, of the golden age; and they have brought down upon you the most frightful revolution that a God, justly irritated by the pride and wickedness of men, has ever poured down upon the earth. Such is the end of all that impiety which it has pleased you to style Philosophy.

Never let any person pretend to dispute the prime cause of all our misfortunes. Voltaire and Rousseau are the heroes of your revolution, as they were of your Philosophism. It is now time to dissipate the illusion, if you wish to see the scourge cease, and preserve yourself from a similar danger in future.

You must work a revolution that will be the death-blow to that philosophism of impiety, if you wish to appease the God who has only permitted this scourge to befall man to avenge his Son. It is not by persisting in the outrage, by leaving your hearts a prey to the prime cause of all our misfortunes, that you will find the termination of them. The great crime of the Jacobin is his impiety; his great strength rests in yours. The powers of hell will second him when he combats against Christ; and will heaven, think ye, declare for you, so long as your morals and your faith shall declare you an enemy to the Son of God? By your impiety you become the brother of the Jacobin. You are a Jacobin of the revolution against the altar; and it is not by persisting in this hatred against the altar, that you will appease the God who avenges the altar by the revolution annihilating our thrones and our laws.

Such is the last and most important lesson that we are to derive from those scourges that have befallen us in the same gradation as the sophisters of impiety, the sophisters of rebellion, the sophisters of anarchy conspired.—O that I may have succeeded, when terminating these Memoirs, in engraving it deeply on the minds of my readers!—May it more particularly contribute to pave the way for the restoration of religion, of the laws, and of happiness in my country!—May the reseraches that I have made to discover the causes of the revolution, be serviceable to nations that may still preserve themselves, or rid themselves of such disasters!—Then will that God who has supported me in my pursuit, have blessed my labours with an ample recompence.

1. See Vol. I. P. 17.

2. The word *sophister* has been made use of throughout this work, to distinguish the modern rebels from the Greek Philosophers of the school of Sophists. Johnson, in his dictionary, defines SOPHISTER as a *disputant fallaciously subtle; an artful but insidious logician*; such is the species of men that have been described in this work, who, conscious of their own fallacy, but acting the part of Satan to pervert mankind, should never be confounded with those men of antiquity whose systems of disputation may have been fallacious, but whose intentions were upright, and who did not combat every sacred or social principle in hopes of subverting society. *Trans.*

3. *Mercure Britannique*, Vol. I. No. IV. P. 292.

4. It is evident, however, that the author of the *British Mercury* never wished to favour the *Illuminees*. He is as indignant as we are at the successes of the *inept Philosophists of modern republicanism*, of that revolutionary warfare waging against property and the laws, of those young Jacobins just coming from the University of Gottinguen. He is indignant at the audacity of the *revolutionary letters* and of the *northern league*, that is to say, of a *company of Theologians, Professors, and Philosophers of Holstein*, who ask to form a central assembly, having under it subordinate committees to form and direct *public education, without being under any control of government, laws or religion* (P. 292). He would have spoken just as we have done of the *Illuminees*, had he known these *philosophical absurdities* and their successes to be the work of the Sect; that the youths come from Gottinguen were just arriving from a haunt of Illuminism; that the northern league is nothing more than a branch of the *German Union* invented by the

Illuminee Barhdt; that the plan of education originated with the *Illuminee Campe*, heretofore pastor and preacher to the garrison of Potsdam, called to Brunswick, protected by the first minister, and decorated with the appellation of *French Citizen*, in recompense for what he has more particularly written on the independency of education.—(See the *Universal Revision of every thing relating to Schools*, Vol. VI.) I shall therefore repeat, Study the Sect, study its code, its history; study its means for seducing the Great; and, so far from despising the influence of the Sect, you will find the cause of that disastrous lethargy which has seized on men whose duty it is to be most active, far better explained than by your *Fatalism*.

5. See the Monthly Review, Appendix to Vol. XXXV. Page. 504.
6. See Letters of the Affairs of the Austrian Netherlands, Let. II. P. 31.
7. Decree of the 9th November, 1792.

END OF THE FOURTH AND LAST PART

OBSERVATIONS on some Articles published in
the MONTHLY REVIEW, relative to the
"MEMOIRS ON JACOBINISM."

THERE are Reviewers of whose approbation I shall ever be proud, because I know the propagation of good principles to be the object of their labors. There are others, however, whose applause would always be hateful to me, because, under the mask of science, they disseminate the principles of Impiety and Rebellion. To which of these classes the *Monthly Review* may belong, I shall not pretend to determine, as I am not in the habit of reading it; but should be sorry to ground my judgement on the account which Dr. Griffiths, or his associates, have given of the *Memoirs of Jacobinism*. In the Appendix to his twenty fifth Volume, he has loaded me with imputations which I should leave to the good sense of my Reader, were I engaged in a mere literary dispute; but I have denounced the most formidable conspiracy that ever was contrived against Religion and Society. I owe it, therefore, to my cause, and to myself, to prove which of us is most open to the charge of *unfairness, of dexterity, or of treacherous ingenuity*. Fortunately the task is not difficult.

Dr. Griffiths is pleased to pass a favourable sentence on my first Volume, treating of the *Conspiracy of the Sophisters against the Altar*; but he says, that the Conspiracy "of the Sophisters of Rebellion against the Throne is so imperfectly supported in the second Volume, that he must still ascribe the extinction of Royalty in France much more to the course of local events in Paris, than to the previous concert and deliberate wish of the leaders of the Revolution." Certainly the Jacobins would not be sorry to see such an opinion become prevalent; for they also claim the right of saying to Kings, if we attack your thrones you may thank yourselves; it was your perfidy and despotism, much more than the efforts of a Brissot or a Syeyes, that dethroned Lewis XVI; it was more owing to you than to Petion or Robespierre that he was led to the scaffold; and, above all, it was the tyranny of Lewis XVI that engraved in our hearts that wish to exterminate every King on earth—Dr. Griffiths also finds it more convenient peremptorily to pronounce on the validity of the proofs which I adduce, than to submit any of them to his readers, lest they should draw a very different conclusion. Not a word does he mention of the Letters, of the Systems, of Holbach's Club, of the Central Committee, of the Emissaries of the Grand Orient, of the Declamations and formal avowals of the adepts Le Roi, Condorcet, Gudin, and his fellow reviewers of the *Mercure*. All this must lead us to believe, that Dr. Griffiths is difficult of conviction when he pleases to be so; and that he can withhold proofs when he is not in

a humour to refute them. So many persons will take the word of their teachers for granted, that it is unnecessary for him to condescend to give his reasons. We shall see whether he will deign to notice Sir Horace Walpole, who so long since denounced the Conspiracy of the Sophisters of Rebellion. If Dr. Griffiths be determined to be blind, I cannot pretend to make him see.

2dly, Dr. Griffiths also declares, that my position "is wholly erroneous," when I say, *that Equality and Liberty form the essential and perpetual Creed of the Freemasons*. Here I was tempted to recognize a brother dupe; but he had his reasons for appearing to be better informed than I was. He then speaks of a communication opened between the Grand Lodges of London and Berlin in 1776; and Berlin, he says, was at that *era the very focus of convergence for every ray of modern Philosophy*; and then he asks, *were those embassies mere child's play, or were there Timoleans concealed in the Latomies* (Lodges)? I candidly confess, that had I known of these communications with the very center of Sophistry, so far should I have been from retracting my proofs of the Conspiracy of the Freemasons, that I should have given them a stronger turn. I can also assure him, that I would not have generalized to such an extent my exception in favor of the Masonry of the Grand Lodge of London, had I been informed that it could possibly have contained members so inimical to Kings as that *Timoleon* who assassinated his brother *Timophane*, for that same cause of hatred to Royalty in which the Elder *Brutus* became the executioner of his Children, and the Younger Brutus the murderer of Caesar his benefactor. Let English Masons defend themselves against the imputations of Dr. Griffiths; but every reader will perceive that the method he has adopted to prove that *my position was erroneous* is rather extraordinary; for, according to his assertions, if I am culpable, it is of having generalized my exception too much in favor of those to whom I thought no guilt could attach.

When we proceed to the third Volume treating of the Illuminees, and I speak of their Conspiracy against all society, property, and sciences, then is he far more difficult of persuasion. It is here that I am guilty of *treacherous ingenuity, of partiality, and of unfairness*. Let the reader judge to which of us such imputations are the most applicable.

The Reviewer deduces his grand proofs against me from the manner in which I have translated two of Weishaupt's texts. I must own, that one of them gave me a considerable deal of trouble, not on account of the language, for the words are clear enough; but on account of the arrant nonsense, and, to me, irreconcilable contradiction of this text in the place where it stands. To have translated Weishaupt literally, we must have him say, "*few wants; this is the first step towards Liberty. It is for this reason that Savages and the Learnea (or men enlightened in the supreme degree) are perhaps the only free men, the only independent men.*" I here saw a great error in stating our men of learning as those who have the *fewest wants*, or as the freest, or as the most independent of Society. To enable them to attend solely to their studies, they stand in need of a sufficient fortune to relieve them from attention to temporal concerns. They stand in need of the labour of others to cloath, lodge, and nourish them. They

are above all others dependent on society for that state of peace and tranquillity so necessary to the progress of science. They must, therefore, be monsters of ingratitude if they do not recognize that public authority, without which sciences must vanish. Put the most learned member of the Royal Society into a desert or a forest, and in another put a country clown, and see which of the two will fare best, or stand most in need of the help of others.

But this is not all; Weishaupt positively asserts, that slavery is the offspring of the sciences; and can it follow from such a position, that the most scientific are the freest and most independent of men? As from a variety of other passages I knew that according to the modern *Spartacus* no men were really enlightened, unless it were the savages, or those who wished to carry us back to the savage state; I translated it thus: "*Hence few wants is the first step towards Liberty. It is for this reason that the savages are the most enlightened of men, and perhaps they alone are free*" (page 177 [p. 477 in this edition, Ed.]); but I took the precaution to add the German text ("Darum sind wilde, und in höchsten grad aufgeklärte, vielleicht die einzige freye menschen"), that each reader might give the sense he chose to the original. Dr. Griffiths has done more; he has quoted that other text, in which Weishaupt literally declares slavery to be the offspring of the sciences; he nevertheless makes Weishaupt say, *that savages and the fully enlightened are perhaps the only free men*. This certainly approaches nearer to a literal translation, and the sentence taken in the abstract may be more correct; my translation, however, is conformable to the sense of the discourse; but I have no objection to substitute that given by Dr. Griffiths, provided a N. B. be added, to warn the reader of the nonsense of it, and the gross contradiction it contains.

4thly, Dr. Griffiths, or the writer he employs, next proceeds to page 171 of the French. "The text of Weishaupt expressly says: *out of our present imperfect forms of civil union we shall pass into new and better chosen*: but the Abbé, in order to attribute to him the perverse project of perpetuating anarchy, unfairly renders the passage as if we were to pass back into the savage state." Then, as if he had it in his power to quote numberless examples of my unfair translations, he adds, "On the topic of *Property*, similar freedoms have been used, with a not less *treacherous ingenuity*."

Upon my word Dr. Griffiths here fathers with great facility his own failing upon others. Sir, notwithstanding the base and calumnious accusations which you chose to vent against me, I wrote to you as a Reviewer upright in his intentions, yet liable to mistake, but who, after such violent imputations, would condescend at least to insert in a future number of his Review the explanation which I had sent him. You denied me this means of defence; I then told you, that I should not leave the public in that error into which your Review might lead them; as in the present circumstances the consequences might be too dangerous. I requested a meeting in order to lay before you *the Original Writings*, and therein to point out evident proofs that your imputations were unjust. You refused these means of rectifying your mistake. What, then, entitles you to better treatment than you have given to a man who was most

certainly actuated by no other sentiment than that of the public good, and whom you choose to calumniate in defiance of conviction?

It pleases Dr. Griffiths also to represent my letter (in which I informed him, that I would not leave the public in an error) as a risible threat of denouncing him as an Illuminee (June 1798). He adds, that I am "*at full liberty to accuse or compliment him, by such a description.*" You may, Sir, take what I am going to say as a *reproach* or as a *compliment*; but, without pretending to say whether you are initiated in the secrets of Illuminism or not, this much I can assert, that no Illuminee could have shown less candour than has the author of the article to which I am about to reply.

So far was I from attributing any other intention to Weishaupt, than that which he really had, when he wrote these words, *Aus den staaten treten wir in neue klüger gewahlte*, which I have translated, *de ces sociétés nous passons a des vœux, a un choix plus sage* (from these societies we proceed to further wishes and to a wiser choice), and as this sentence, taken abstractedly, has no signification either in German or French, I, in a note, called the attention of the reader to the sentence that immediately followed, as explaining the nature of the *wiser choice*. (*Fr. Vol. III. 171*). The English translator has omitted this note, which in reality was only added through an excess of precaution. But had he inserted it what would it have proved? Nothing but an especial care on my side not to attribute to Weishaupt any meaning that did not entirely coincide with the text. Am I to blame, if what precedes and what follows that sentence evidently demonstrate that this Sophister was endeavouring to lead us back to the savage state? I should spare the Reviewer too much, or should rather hold him out as an *Ignoramus*, were I to say that he could have been mistaken as to the meaning of that sentence. Here it is, with what precedes and follows it: "Nature drew men from the savage state, and re united them in civil societies; *from these societies we proceed to further wishes, and to a wiser choice.*"¹ New associations present themselves to these wishes; and by their means we return to the state *whence we came*, not again to run the former course, but the better to enjoy our destiny." Since the reviewer did not condescend to favour me with the interview I requested, that I might show him the German text, I here print it, that he may get it translated by whom and where he pleases; and I defy him to show that I have either altered or *warped* the sense of that passage: "Die natur hat das menschen geschlecht aus den wildheit gerissen, und in staaten vereimight; *aus den staaten treten wir in neue Klüger gewahlte*. Zu unseren wünschen nahen sich neue verbindungen, und durch diese langen wir wider dort an, wo wir aufgegangen sind; aber nicht um dereinst den alten zirkul wieder zurück zu machen, sondern um unsere weitere bestimmung näher zu erfahren." Now I boldly ask, whether natural stupidity can be carried so far, or whether any man can be so totally destitute of every idea of logic, as not plainly to see, that the state from which Weishaupt says that Nature has drawn us, and to which it is leading us back by means of his (secret) associations, is not the savage state. Beside, he adds, *Let us explain this mystery*; and how does he do this? why, by dedicating more than forty pages

to prove, that the object of Nature in *Secret Societies* is to eradicate even the very name of *People, Prince, Nation, or Country*; and this he positively tells us is *one of his grand mysteries*. This monstrous Sophister also says, that *Original Sin*, the *Fall of Man*, was no other than their reunion into civil society; and that *Redemption* is our reinstatement in that state which was anterior to society. It is even thus that he pretends to explain the gospel; it is thus that he explains the *rough stones, the stone split or broken, and the polished stone of Masonry*.—And after this Dr. Griffiths and his co-operators will come and accuse us of *unfairness, dexterity, and treacherous ingenuity*, because we unfold the absurdity of his favorite Illuminism! Let our readers assign those epithets to whom in their opinion they belong.

5thly. What can the reviewer mean by that great zeal which he shows for the characters of Weishaupt and Knigge, those two prototypes of Illuminism? In order to justify them, he comes and talks to us of the *Theism* and of the opinions which they affected in their public writings, and acts the brother dupe, grounding his opinion on Weishaupt's giving the writings of the *Socinian Bessedow* to his novices. What does all this prove to a man who is speaking of the secret opinions of Knigge and Weishaupt, and who has demonstrated the whole doctrine of their conspiring mysteries; to a man who proves to you, by the very letters of Weishaupt and Knigge, that after the perusal of the writings of the *Socinian Bessedow*, these two atheists recommend and give to their adepts the writings of the atheist Boulanger, of the atheist Robinet, of the atheist Helvetius, of the atheist Diderot; and that Knigge even complains, that such a super-abundance of Atheism would betray the tendency of the Sect too soon? (*Original Writings, Vol., I. Let. 3, from Spartacus to Cato.—Vol., II. Let. 2, from Philo to Cato.*)—To what purpose, let me ask, is all the stuff which this reviewer has copied from the German Illuminees about the Jesuits; all those panic terrors which he affects about the return of Catholicism in a protestant country; as if protestants and persons of every religion were not bound in one interest to counteract the plans of Illuminism? If Dr. Griffiths wishes to mislead the English nation, as some of the adepts did for a time in Germany, let him learn that the trick is stale; that it will be in vain for him to copy Mirabeau or Bonneville, and, like them, cry up the alledged proofs of Jesuits Masonry discovered by the Illuminee *Lucian-NICOLAI*. We are on the spot, and can verify these grand proofs. We beg Dr. Griffiths to favor us with a sight of that famous *Pelican* discovered at Oxford; and that he will not forget to tell us how it comes to pass, that this *Pelican is replaced by a Sparrow-hawk*, whose feathers grow again, and *how a Sparrow-hawk, who thus resedges itself*, evidently demonstrates that *Jesuits have long since been hidden in the English Lodges*; and that if great care be not taken, they are on the eve of sallying forth to make a most terrible havock. He will also tell us, how this demonstration becomes evident, when we observe, that Sir Christopher Wren (the architect who built St. Paul's) was professor in one college at Oxford, and that the *Pelican and Sparrow-hawk* were found in another college. But I am sorry to consider, that, when Dr. Griffiths shall have ably

developed all the grand proofs given by Nicolai, the English reader will be much tempted to rank the inventor and his panegyrist in the same class.²

Let not Dr. Griffiths think that while we shrug our shoulders at this miserable fable of Catholicism and Jesuitism latent in Freemasonry, we cannot produce substantial proofs that this fable was only invented to avert the attention of the inhabitants of protestant countries from the progress making by the Illuminees. We can show those leaders of Illuminism *Brunner*, the apostate catholic curate of Tiefenbach; the apostate *Nimis*, the *Chabot* of Germany; the adepts *Dorsch*, *Blau*, and *Wreden*, the famous Illuminees of Spire, Mentz, and Bonne, meditating and combining among themselves the means of propagating this fable in Germany, just as Dr. Griffiths had done in England. We can produce the letters of the adept *Brunner* to *Nimis*, discovered among the papers of *Blau* and sent by the officers who had seized them to the *Bishop of Spire*. Dr. Griffiths knows many things concerning Masonry and Illuminism; but he may probably be unacquainted with this letter; it would not be right that he should continue so, as he will by the information be better able to judge of the part that he is acting, and of the services that he is rendering to Illuminism.

This dispatch is dated July 9, 1792, that is, just about the time when the coalition of the crowned heads seemed to menace Jacobinism with immediate destruction. The adepts are much occupied with inventing a plan for remodelling Illuminism, that it might acquire new vigor. In this plan a cloak is sought, which, hiding the grand machine, leaves its instruments at liberty to act without being seen, and to attain the object of the Sect without being suspected of meddling with Illuminism.

The cloak that was thus to favour the views of the brethren, was an *Academy of Sciences* formed of two classes of men, the one of men remarkable for their zeal in the cause of religion, the other of profound Illuminees. Honorary members were to be elected as protectors; and if (says the author of the plan) DALBERT once gets to his government (that is, if the Suffragan becomes Elector of Mentz) he of all other princes would be the most proper for our object. We may perhaps unfold the whole of our plan to him, and make Mentz the central point of our academy.—To do away every idea of the hidden mysteries of this academy, it would be right that each member should wear on his breast a medal bearing the inscription RELIGIONI ET SCIENTIIS (to religion and sciences).—The better to conceal our secret object, we must be careful to engage all the learned Jesuits, such as SATTLER, SAILER, MUTSCHELLE, and other learned religious, that are perfectly orthodox, such as GERBERT, and SCHWARTZUEBER.—It would even be right if it could be brought about, that the establishment of this academy should be announced to the public by a Jesuit, and not by one of us.

Pray, Dr. Griffiths, has this plan come to your knowledge? Now listen to what the adept author of the plan says, "But if people cry out against *hidden Jesuitism* and against the *progress of Catholicism*, it will be so much the better. That would the better do away all suspicion of a secret association; one might (and this is worthy of Dr. Griffith's observation) *one's self help to spread this false*

alarm." I here add the text, for the benefit of a translation from Dr. Griffiths, which if he gives, I hope he will also add the text, that the public may pronounce on *the treacherous ingenuity*: "Wurde über heimlichen Jesuitism, oder über grössere ausbreitung des Katholicism geschrien, desto besser; dadurch würde aller verdacht einer geheimen verbindung nur um so mehr beseitiget. Man konte sogar diesen blinden lärm selbst schlagen belfen." When, Sir, you shall have duly meditated on this plan of the adepts, I should like to know what you could have done more to favor their views than you did in giving an account of Mr. Robison's work, of my work, and of the miserable production calling itself *A first Letter of a Free-mason to the Abbé Barnuel*. You will, doubtless, remark, that the date of this plan is June 1792; so you cannot refer your readers to the *Illuminee* BOETIGER to make them believe, that since the year 1790 there has been no farther question of Illuminism in Germany.

I flatter myself that you now coincide in opinion with me, and that you think it might have been better—1st, To have either spoken of the above works with more candour and politeness, or not to have mentioned them at all.—2dly, To have accepted the invitation that I sent you, that I might lay the original texts before you.—3dly, To have published the letter that I requested you would insert in your Review.—And 4thly, Not to have pretended that I had threatened to denounce you as an Illuminee. For really, Sir, I never felt the slightest inducement to pronounce whether the Illuminees had ever initiated yourself or your co-operators in their last Mysteries. You begin with granting that the conspiracy of the Sophisters against the altar really exists; and when you come to the Illuminees you tell us, "*that however extravagant may be the opinions of some LEADING MEN among the Illuminees, the average will of the party, the collected pursuit of the confederated Lodges, appears rather to have had SOCINIANISM and REPUBLICANISM than atheism and anarchy for its objects.*" —(June 1798, p. 240.)—This is avowing at least that there exists in these Lodges a conspiracy against the God of the Gospel, and against the thrones of all sovereigns. This is also abandoning the chiefs or founders of the confederacy of the Illuminees. When you go so far yourself, Sir, as to grant all this, am I not entitled to ask what could induce you to accuse me of so much *treacherous ingenuity*, when you confess yourself that I might be in the right; for you must have seen that I distinguished the degrees; I have shown by the very code of the Illuminees how in their first schools they only infused hatred for kings, and that species of Socinianism which borders closely on rank Deism. This, I think, was sufficiently proving a conspiracy whose tendency well deserved the attention of the public.—When I accuse the Sect of aiming at the wildest anarchy, I show that this mystery was reserved to the profound adepts and chiefs, though their secret at present frequently escapes them before a public audience. Generally, Sir, they make the same avowals as you do. They are pleased to hear it said that Voltaire, and those men whom they denominate *great philosophers*, conspired against Christianity; and that other self-created philosophers of the Lodges conspired against kings. This might contribute to make nations believe that it is not so very criminal a thing to engage in such

conspiracies. But it is a more difficult thing to invent a plausible pretext for conspiring against all property and civil society; and for that reason more care is taken to conceal the ultimate views of their plots. Meanwhile, however, they cry down every author that dares to unmask these hideous conspirators. Was it under an illusion, or wittingly, that you followed so nearly the same method in reviewing the works of Mr. Robison and myself? Do not expect a decision from me. My object is, that the public should not be misled to believe that I have exaggerated the mysteries of the Illuminees. I leave to that same public to judge whether any of the Reviewers are dupes or accomplices.

N. B. In support of the account given by the *Monthly Review*, I am threatened with an answer from SPARTACUS-WEISHAUPT. My rejoinder is ready for this personage also. Let him meet me at the archives of Munich, where his letters are preserved. But as that might expose him to the peril of the gallows, I consent that he should act by attorney. Let him prove then that these letters are spurious; and that the Court and Magistrates of Bavaria imposed upon the world, when they published those letters, and invited persons of every country to come and verify the originals; for all other apology on his side must be useless, and any answer on mine superfluous. A complete answer to all his publications, as well as to his first apology, is already published in the code and history of his Illuminism; and all that I can possibly say with reference to his writings may be reduced to three words, *read and verify*.

1. The note in question would answer to the word *choice*, Vol. III. page 179 [p. 477 in this edition, Ed.] and is literally as follows: "To a wiser choice; this is the literal translation of the text, *aus den staaten treten wir in neue klüger gewählte*. The sentence that follows clearly enough expresses what this choice is." I placed the German text between a parenthesis immediately after the word *choice*; and as the sentence alluded to immediately followed, I looked upon the remainder of the note as perfectly useless, and omitted it; for who could have dreamt that any person could have cavilled at so clear a sentence? I only transcribe the note in this place, that every reader may judge of Dr. Griffith's candour. *Trans.*
2. See *Monthly Review*, August, 1798, pages 460 and 461—See also the miserable discoveries of Nicolai appreciated in a German work called the *Veil torn from Masonry*, page 318, &c.

In the original this chart of hieroglyphics faces the passage marked with note 12 on p. 429 of this edition.

a.	⊕	□	t.	†	⊕
b.	☆	□	u.	†	⊕
c.	┐	☾	v.	4	≡
d.	↓	┐	w.	⊗	h
e.	└	*	x.	⊥	⊠
f.	♂	┐	y.	:	⊠
g.	┐	⊥	z.	~	⊗
h.	.	—			
i.	+	△	1.	∴	
k.	♀	≠	2.	∩	
l.	L	♀	3.	∩	
m.	I	>	4.	□	□
n.	H	△	5.	3	
o.	T	♂	6.	✂	
p.	:	□	7.	✂	
q.	⊥	⊗	8.	✂	
r.	x	⊖	9.	✂	
s.	◇	⊙	0.	:	

,	⊗	:	3	:	3
.	6	!	9	?	69